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Traditional Sanskrit scholars are requested to send us articles (i) dealing with the religious & philosophical matters in the Purāṇas and (ii) explaining the obscure & difficult passages in the Purāṇas.

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संस्कृतखण्ड.

Supplement

सरस्वतीस्तोत्रम्*

[देवीभागवत ९।५।६-३२]

याज्ञवल्क्य उवाच—

कृपां कुरु जगन्मातर्मामेवं हततेजसम् ।
गुरुशापात् स्मृतिभ्रष्टं विद्याहीनं च दुःखितम् ॥ ६ ॥

ज्ञानं देहि स्मृतिं[1] विद्यां शक्तिं शिष्यप्रबोधिनीम् ।
ग्रन्थकर्तृत्वशक्तिं च सुशिष्यं[2] सुप्रतिष्ठितम् ॥ ७ ॥

प्रतिभां सत्सभायां च विचारक्षमतां शुभाम् ।
[3]लुप्तं सर्वं दैवयोगाद् नवीभूतं पुनः कुरु ॥ ८ ॥

यथाङ्कुरं[4] भस्मनि च करोति देवता पुनः ।
ब्रह्मस्वरूपा परमा ज्योतीरूपा सनातनी ॥ ९ ॥

सर्वविद्याधिदेवी या तस्यै वाण्यै नमो नमः ।
विसर्गबिन्दुमात्राणां[5] यदधिष्ठानमेव च ॥ १० ॥

[6]तदधिष्ठात्री या देवी तस्यै नित्यं नमो नमः ।
व्याख्यास्वरूपा या[7] देवी व्याख्याधिष्ठातृरूपिणी ॥ ११ ॥

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* This *stotra* with a few additional lines and with variants here and there is found in Brahma-vaivarta-p., Prakṛti-khaṇḍa 5.6-32 also. The *stotra* occurring in the Br -vai. was published in the Purāṇa III. I. As it was published without notes we are giving here the *stotra* as read in the Devībhāgavata (with the variant readings occurring in the Br. Vai. purāṇa). The Vaṅgavāsī ed. of the Devībhāgavata has slight variations in reading in two or three places.

1. स्मृतिं देहि विद्यां विद्याधिदेवते (ब्रवै. ७) ।
2. ग्रन्थनिर्मितिशक्तिं च सच्छिष्यं (ब्रवै. ८) ।
3. लुप्तां सर्वां दैववशान्नवं कुरु पुनः पुनः (ब्रवै. ९) ।
4. यथाङ्कुरं जनयति भगवान् योगमायया (ब्रवै. ९) ।
5. मात्राणाम् (ब्रवै. १४); मात्रासु (देवीभा.) ।
6. विसर्गेत्यादिवाक्यानन्तरं ब्रह्मवैवर्ते 'इत्थं त्वं गीयसे सद्भिर्भारत्यै ते नमो नमः' (१४) इति पठ्यते ।
7. या देवी व्याख्याधिष्ठातृदेवता (ब्रवै. ११); सा देवी (देवीभाग.) ।

यया विना प्रसंख्यावान्[8] संख्यां कर्तुं न शक्नुते ।
कालसंख्यास्वरूपा या तस्यै देव्यै नमो नमः ॥ १२ ॥

भ्रमसिद्धान्तरूपा या तस्यै देव्यै नमो नमः ।
[9]स्मृतिशक्तिज्ञानशक्तिबुद्धिशक्तिस्वरूपिणी ॥ १३ ॥

प्रतिभाकल्पनाशक्तिर्या च तस्यै नमो नमः ।
सनत्कुमारो ब्रह्माणं ज्ञानं पप्रच्छ यत्र वै ॥ १४ ॥

बभूव मूकवत्[10] सोऽपि सिद्धान्तं कर्तुमक्षमः ।
तदाऽऽजगाम भगवानात्मा श्रीकृष्ण ईश्वरः ॥ १५ ॥

उवाच स च तां[11] स्तौहि वाणी[12]मिष्टां प्रजापते ।
स च तुष्टाव तां ब्रह्मा चाज्ञया परमात्मनः ॥ १६ ॥

चकार तत्प्रसादेन तदा सिद्धान्तमुत्तमम् ।
यदाप्यनन्तं पप्रच्छ ज्ञानमेकं वसुन्धरा ॥ १७ ॥

बभूव मूकवत्सोऽपि सिद्धान्तं कर्तुमक्षमः ।
तदा त्वां[13] स च तुष्टाव सन्त्रस्तः कश्यपाज्ञया ॥ १८ ॥

ततश्चकार सिद्धान्तं निर्मलं भ्रमभञ्जनम् ।
व्यासः पुराणसूत्रं च[14] पप्रच्छ वाल्मीकिं यदा ॥ १९ ॥

मौनीभूतश्च[15] सस्मार त्वामेव[16] जगदम्बिकाम् ।
तदा चकार सिद्धान्तं त्वद्वरेण[17] मुनीश्वरः ॥ २० ॥

संप्राप्य[18] निर्मलं ज्ञानं भ्रमान्धध्वंसदीपकम् ।
पुराणसूत्रं श्रुत्वा च व्यासः कृष्णकलोद्भवः ॥ २१ ॥

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8. विनात्र संख्याकृत् संख्यां कर्तुं न शक्नुते (ब्रवै. १५); न शक्यते (देवीभाग.) शक्नोतीति पाठे छन्दोभङ्गः स्यात् ।
9. स्मृतिशक्तिर्ज्ञानशक्तिः (ब्रवै. १७) ।
10. जडवत् (ब्रवै. १८) ।
11. तं (ब्रवै. १९) ।
12. वाणीमिति (ब्रवै. १९) ।
13. तां स (देवीभाग.); त्वां च (ब्रवै. २२) ।
14. पुराणसूत्रं समपृच्छद् (ब्रवै. २३) ।
15. मौनीभूतः स सस्मार (ब्रवै. २३) ।
16. तामेव (देवीभाग. काशी) ।
17. तद्वरेण (देवीभाग. काशी), त्वद्वरेण (देवीभाग. वङ्ग०) ।
18. स प्राप निर्मलं ज्ञानं प्रमादध्वंसकारणम् (ब्रवै. २४) ।

[19]तां सिषेवे च दध्यौ च शतवर्षं च पुष्करे।
तदा त्वत्तो वरं प्राप्य सत्कवीन्द्रो [20] बभूव ह ॥ २२ ॥

तदा वेदविभागं च पुराणं[21] च चकार सः।
यदा महेन्द्रः[22] पप्रच्छ तत्त्वज्ञानं सदाशिवम् ॥ २३ ॥

क्षणं [23]त्वामेव संचिन्त्य तस्मै[24] ज्ञानं ददौ विभुः।
पप्रच्छ शब्दशास्त्रं च महेन्द्रश्च बृहस्पतिम् ॥ २४ ॥

दिव्यं वर्षसहस्रं च स त्वां दध्यौ च पुष्करे।
तदा त्वत्तो वरं प्राप्य दिव्यवर्षसहस्रकम् ॥ २५ ॥

उवाच शब्दशास्त्रं च तदर्थं च सुरेश्वरम्।
अध्यापिताश्च यैः[25] शिष्या यैरधीतं मुनीश्वरैः ॥ २६ ॥

ते च त्वां परिसंचिन्त्य प्रवर्तन्ते सुरेश्वरि[26]।
त्वं संस्तुता पूजिता च मुनीन्द्रैर्मनुमानवैः[27] ॥ २७ ॥

दैत्येन्द्रैश्च सुरैश्चापि ब्रह्मविष्णुशिवादिभिः।
जडीभूतः सहस्रास्यः पञ्चवक्त्रश्चतुर्मुखः ॥ २८ ॥
यां स्तोतुं किमहं स्तौमि तामेकास्येन मानवः।

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19. तां शिवां वेद दध्यौ च (देवीभाग.); तां सिषेवे च दध्यौ च (ब्रवै. २५)।
20. स कवीन्द्रो (ब्रवै. २६)।
21. पुराणानि चकार ह (ब्रवै. २६)।
22. महेन्द्रे पप्रच्छ तत्त्वज्ञानं शिवा शिवम् (ब्रवै. २७); 'महेन्द्रे' इत्यपपाठः।
23. तामेव (देवीभाग. काशी); त्वामेव (देवीभाग. वङ्ग; ब्रवै. २७)।
24. तस्यै (ब्रवै. २७)।
25. ये (देवीभाग.); यैः (ब्रवै. ३०)।
26. तां....सुरेश्वरि (ब्रवै ३०); त्वां (देवीभाग. वङ्ग०); सुरेश्वरीम् (देवीभाग.)।
27. मुनीन्द्रमनुमानवैः (ब्रवै. ३१)।

NOTES ON THE STOTRA

Yājñavalkya being cursed by his teacher forgot what he had learnt from him. Being grieved he came to the Lolārka tīrtha (Koṇārka, according to Br. Vai.-p.) and through his austerities he pleased the Sun, who taught him the Veda along with the Vedāṅgas and advised him to extol Vāgdevī (Sarasvatī) so that he could regain his power of recollection. Consequently Yājñavalkya extolled the goddess by uttering this *stotra*.

Both the Devībhāgavata and the Brahmavaivarta are silent on the details of the incident of the curse. A detailed account of this incident is found in a few Purāṇas; *vide* Vāyu-p. 61. 5-22; Brahmāṇḍa-p. 1.35. 14-30; Viṣṇu-p. 3.5. 1-29; Bhāgavata-p. 12.6. 61-74; Skanda, Nāgarakhaṇḍa 278. 1-141; Śānti-p. 318. The Purāṇic accounts vary in some minor points.

It is said that Vaiśampāyana, the teacher of Yājñavalkya in Veda, cursed him on account of his impudence and ordered him to vomit what he had learnt from him. Accordingly Yājñavalkya vomitted and left his teacher. Afterwards he worshipped the Sun in order to learn the Veda from him. The Sun taught him the Veda which was not known to others and which was afterwards called the Śukla Yajurveda.[1] There is no mention of Vedāṅgas in the accounts in the aforesaid Purāṇas, though D. Bhāg. and Br. Vaivarta expressly mention them.

After hearing the *stotra* the goddess became pleased and gave the boon to Yājñavalkya—'May you be a great poet' (सुकवीन्द्रो भव, 30-31). The poetic composition of Yājñavalkya is however not known.[2]

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1. For a historical explanation of this incident, see Niruktālocana by Satyavrata Sāmaśramin (p. 179 ff.) and Mānavārṣabhāṣya, Introduction (pp. 24–26) by Indirāramaṇa Śāstrin.

2. If the word *kavi* is taken in the sense of 'wise', no difficulty arises, for we have three works of high merit ascribed to Yājñavalkya, viz. (1) the Yājñavalkya-smṛti, (2) the Yogi-Yājñavalkya and (3) the Bṛhad-yogi-Yājñavalkya-smṛti.

(6-8a) Yājñavalkya prayed to Sarasvatī as he became bereft of *tejas* (prowess, boldness), *smṛti* (remembrance) and *vidyā* (wisdom) on account of the curse given by his teacher. He prayed the goddess to bestow on him *jñāna*, *smṛti*, *vidyā*, the power of instructing disciples, the power of composing treatises, disciples established in their society and learing, *pratibhā* (presence of mind), and capability of holding discourses in the assemblies of cultured persons.

In ancient India the power of instructing pupils successfully was highly praised. Vyāsabhāṣya 2.38 asserts that this power arises as a result of practising *brahmacarya.* The capability to compose treatises was considered to be the result of devotion to one's *guru*; cp. आचार्ययोनिमिह् ये प्रविश्य भूत्वा गर्भे ब्रह्मचर्यं चरन्ति । इहैव ते शास्त्रकारा भवन्ति (Mbh. Udyoga-p. 44.6). The power of holding debates in learned assemblies was also regarded as a praiseworthy merit of scholars; cp. प्रवृत्तवाक् चित्रकथः····स वै पण्डित उच्यते (Udyoga-p. 33.33). Descriptions of debates in learned assemblies are found in such ancient works as the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad. The power of arguing in assemblies suggests high skill in oratory—an art which was highly developed in ancient India as may be proved from the descriptions of eloquence of ancient teachers.[3] The epithet *śubhā* shows that the power of arguing must not be associated with quibbling (*chala*) and the like.

(8b-9a) Yājñavalkya prayed the goddess to create those qualities (remembrance etc.) that were destroyed on account of the curse of his teacher, for such a creation was a very easy task for a divinity that could even create a sprout from ashes i.e. from a roasted seed. The example was well known in ancient India; *vide* Sāṁkhyasūtra 1.11 which says that 'by the power of the yogin the power of germination can appear in a roasted seed.' The variant reading in the Br.-vai. यथाङ्कुरं जनयति भगवान् योगमायया (as God can create a sprout through his power called *yogamāyā*) is noteworthy.

(9b—10a) Here the goddess Vāṇī (Sarasvatī) has been described as 'identical with brahman', 'supreme', 'lustrous', 'eternal'

3. It is unfortunate that a scholar like Keith opines that 'India produced no oratory' (A Hist. of Sans. Lit., p. 144). Had there been no oratory ancient teachers would not have laid so much stress on the purity of pronunciation (For the long lists of the faults in pronunciation, see the Prātiśākhyas, the Śikṣas and the works on grammar).

and 'the superintending deity of all *vidyās*'. The last epithet is peculiar to the goddess.

(10b—11a) The goddess Sarasvatī is the superintending deity of the *adhiṣṭhāna* (seat) of *visarga*, *bindu* and *mātrā*. This *adhiṣṭhāna* is the mouth i. e. the particular regions in the mouth usually called *sthānas* in the works on grammar and phonetics. The organ of speech may also be regarded as the seat of *visarga* etc.

Visarga = *visarjanīya* (voiceless spirants.).[4] *Bindu* is *anusvāra*',[5] nasalized vowel, also called *nāsikya varṇa*. *Mātrā* is the time of uttering a vowel; it has three varieties namely *hrasva* (short), *dīrgha* (long) and *pluta* (prolated).

As these three have an important place in the *mantras*,[6] they are mentioned here distinctly. Importance of *mātrā* may be known from the Śikṣāvallī of the Tai. Up. which mentions *mātrā* while dealing with pronunciation (शीक्षां व्याख्यास्यामः, वर्णः स्वरः मात्रा बलं साम सन्तानः, 1.1.1.)

(11b—12) Yājñavalkya pays homage to the goddess who is identical with exposition and also the superintending deity of exposition, who is the same as the divisions of time and without whose help no wise man can discriminate or deliberate properly.

It is to be noted that *vyākhyā* (exposition) possesses a distinguished position in literary works. This is why deities are sometimes described as identical with exposition. There are various kinds of exposition in Sanskrit literature, namely bhāṣya, vṛtti, ṭīkā, nyāsa, pañjikā, etc.[7]

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4. *Visarga* is a very late word, the older word being *visarjanīya*. The Prātiśākhyas and Pāṇini do not use the word *visarga* but *visarjanīya*.
5. The word *bindu* for *anusvāra* is frequently used in Tāntric works; some grammarians are also found to use it.
6. Cp. चतुर्वा मातृका प्रोक्ता केवला बिन्दुसंयुता । सविसर्गा सोभया च रहस्यं श्रणु कथ्यते । विद्याकरी केवला च सोम्या मुक्तिप्रदायिनी । सविसर्गा पुत्रदा च सबिन्दु वित्तदायिनी ।। (Nārada quoted in Tantrasāra, p. 45); अकारादिषोडशस्वरान् सबिन्दून् न्यसेत्; बिन्दुयोगं विना बीजत्वायोगात् (सेतुबन्ध, p. 50).
7. For a detailed discussion on the varieties of *vyākhyā*, see my paper 'Kinds of Exposition in Sanskrit Literature', in A. B. O. R. I. XXXVI. 1-2.

Prasaṁkhyāvān—possessing *prasaṁkhyā*, the highly developed reflection or deliberation. *Saṁkhyā* means *vicāra* (Amarakośa 1.5.2); it also means *viveka*, discriminative discernment; संख्यानं संख्या विवेकः (Jayamaṅgalā on Arthaśāstra, p. 10)

(13—14a) Yājñavalkya bows down to Sarasvatī who is the same as the theory of error and who is identical with the powers of recollection, cognition, deliberation (*buddhi*), imagination (*kalpanā*) and the original flash of intelligence (*pratibhā*).

It is remarkable to note that the goddess of learning has been described as *bhramasiddhāntarūpā*; cp. या देवी सर्वभूतेषु भ्रान्तिरूपेण संस्थिता (Devīmāhātmya 5.32). All systems of Indian philosophy have something to say about the nature and causes of *bhrama* (illusion), often called *viparyaya* (error). More than ten theories of error are found to have been propounded in these systems, namely Anirvacanīyakhyāti, Acintyakhyāti, Asatkhyāti, Anyathākhyāti, Akhyāti, Alaukikakhyāti, Ātmakhyāti, Niradhiṣṭhāna-khyāti, Nirviṣayakhyāti, Prasiddhārthakhyāti, Vivekākhyāti and Sadasatkhyāti.[8] That there were a considerable number of the theories of error in the domain of philosophy is undoubtedly proved from the Purāṇic statement विकल्पः ख्यातिवादिनाम् (Bhāg. 11.16.24).

Smṛti is that knowledge which is caused by latent impressions (संस्कारजन्यं ज्ञानं स्मृतिः). Both the words *jñāna* and *buddhi* are used here. A similar use is found in Gītā 10.4. The distinctive character of these two has been clearly shown by Śaṅkara : बुद्धिः अन्तःकरणस्य सूक्ष्माद्यर्थविबोधनसामर्थ्यम् ; ज्ञानमात्मावबोधः It is needless to say that these two words are used in slightly different senses in various works.

Smṛti, *jñāna* and *buddhi* may be taken as *smṛti*, *mati* and *prajñā* of the Rhetoricians also.[9]

8. For a detailed exposition of these theories, see (1) ख्यातिवादः by Śaṅkara-caitanya Bhāratī, (2) ख्यातिवादः by Puruṣottama and (3) ख्यातिविवेकः by Bālakṛṣṇa. Almost all standard works on philosophy contain a discussion on khyātivāda.

9. त्रिधा च सा[बुद्धिः]स्मृतिः, मतिः प्रज्ञेति । अतिक्रान्तस्यार्थस्य स्मर्त्री स्मृतिः, वर्तमानस्य मन्त्री मतिः, अनागतस्य प्रज्ञात्री प्रज्ञा (Kāvyamīmāṁsā, p. 10). The following oft-quoted verse

Pratibhā (genius) is usually defined as प्रज्ञा नवनवोन्मेषशालिनी (Kāvyakautuka quoted in the Kāvyaprakāśa-Saṅketa). It is more aptly defined as अपूर्ववस्तुनिर्माणक्षमा प्रज्ञा (Comm. Locana, p.29). It is usually regarded as of two kinds, *sahajā* (natural) and *utpādyā* (created). A philosophical discussion on *pratibhā* is to be found in Vākyapadīya 2.117 and 148. It is said to be of six kinds arising from स्वभाव (nature), चरण (practice) अभ्यास (study) etc. (*ibid* 2.152).

Kalpanāśakti—power of imagination We may take *kalpanā* in its philosophical sense also.[10]

(14b—17a) It is stated here that Sanatkumāra asked Brahmā for *jñāna* (i. e. *adhyātmavidyā*). He failed to propound it and Kṛṣṇa advised him to extol Vāṇī i. e. Sarasvatī. Brahmā extolled her and propounded the śāstra.

The source of this episode is not known. Sanatkumara's approaching Kālāgnirudra for divine knowledge has however been stated in the Kālāgnirudra-upaniṣad.

It appears that the word *jñāna* used in verse 14b means 'śāstra' (ज्ञायतेऽनेनेति ज्ञानम्). The word *siddhānta* (17a) meaning 'an established doctrine' may rightly be taken as referring to a śāstra in which doctrines are propounded. The use of the root कृ (to do) in connection with *siddhānta* (सिद्धान्तं चकार) also shows that *siddhānta* is to be taken here in the sense of a śāstra.

The śāstra referred to here is most probably the Hiraṇyagarbhayoga-śāstra said to have been spoken out by Brahmā by a host of teachers.[11] Brahmā's declaring yoga or *adhyātmavidyā* is stated in

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is note-worthy : स्मृतिर्व्यतीतविषया मतिरागामिगोचरा । बुद्धिस्तात्कालिकी ज्ञेया प्रज्ञा त्रैकालिकी मता ।।

10. अभिलापसंसर्गयोग्यप्रतिभासप्रतीतिः कल्पना (Nyāyabindu). Philosophers usually speak of five varieties of *kalpanā* concerning जाति (genus), गुण (quality), क्रिया (action), नाम (name) and द्रव्य (substance).

11. See the comm. on Yogasūtra 1.1. Passages from this work are quoted by Śaṅkarācārya in his bhāṣya on the Sanatsujāta section of the Mahābhārata. The Ahirbudhnyasaṁhitā furnishes us with a list of contents of this treatise in 12.13b–39a.

various works; *vide* Bṛhadyogiyājñavalkyasmṛti 12.5 The śāstra (in 1000 chapters) on *dharma*, *artha* and *kāma* by Brahmā (as stated in Śānti-p. ch. 59) seems to have been referred to here; *vide* also the Kāmasūtra (1. 1. 5) for this śāstra.

The phrase 'आत्मा श्रीकृष्ण ईश्वरः' (Kṛṣṇa, the lord, is the self) is worth noticing.

The word स्तौहि (from the root स्तु, to eulogize, to glorify) is irregular; the proper form is स्तुहि or स्तुवीहि.

(17b—19a) The Earth wanted to know a certain śāstra from Ananta (i. e. Anantanāga, king of the serpents). Ananta failed to expound it. Being advised by Kaśyapa he worshipped the goddess Sarasvatī and formulated the established doctrine (i. e. he composed a treatise) that dispelled all doubt.

The source of this episode is not known. The Viṣṇudharmasūtra (ch. 1) contains a story which is partly similar to it. It says that when the Earth came into existence she began to think about the being who could sustain her. She went to Kaśyapa, who advised her to approach Viṣṇu residing in the Kṣīroda ocean. Being entreated by her Viṣṇu agreed to sustain her and declared to her the duties of the varṇas and the āśramas.

The śāstra formulated by Ananta is difficult to ascertain. As the author of the Yogasūtra is traditionally regarded as an incarnation of Ananta, we may take the word *siddhānta* (सिद्धान्तं चकार) as referring to the Yogasūtra. Ananta is sometimes described by such epithets as *yogin*, *yogivadāsīna* and the like ; cp. Viṣṇupurāṇa 2.5.13-14 ; Agnipurāṇa 120.4. Ananta's connection with the Yoga philosophy may be known from the fact that according to Viṣṇudharmottara 3.73.48 the image of the Pātañjala-yoga-śāstra should be in the form of Ananta.

(19b-23a) Vyāsa asked Vālmīki about *purāṇasūtra*, who being unable to say anything recalled the goddess Sarasvatī, the mother of the universe. On account of her grace Vālmīki received faultless wisdom which was like a lamp destroying the darkness of wrong notions ; consequently he was able to establish a certain doctrine.

Having heard the *purāṇasūtra* from Vālmīki, Vyāsa, born of a portion of Kṛṣṇa, worshipped and meditated on the goddess Saras-

vatī for a hundred years in the Puṣkara tīrtha (6 miles from Ajmer). Thus he became a great poet, arranged the Vedas and composed the Purāṇas.

The fourth foot of the stanza 19 (पप्रच्छ वाल्मीकिं यदा) is metrically defective, the fifth letter being *guru.*

The word sūtra signifies the seedy and potential state of a gradually developed entity. We may take here this word to mean the materials which were used by Vyāsa in composing the original Purāṇa.

The source of the incident (Vyāsa's asking Vālmīki about the *purāṇa-sūtra*) is not known. In some of the Purāṇas Vālmīki is said to be a Vyāsa in the 24th *parivarta* (Viṣṇu-p. 3. 3. ; Kūrma-p. 1.51 ; Liṅga-p. 1.24) while Dvaipāyana Vyāsa is said to belong to the 28th *parivarta.* The character of the *sidhānta* or śāstra as established or composed by Vālmīki is not known precisely. It is highly doubtful whether the word *siddhānta* refers to the Rāmāyaṇa.

That Vyāsa was born of a portion of Kṛṣṇa (*Kṛṣṇakalodbhava*) is expressly stated in Bhāgavata 1.4.14 (जातो पराशराद् योगी वासव्यां कलया हरेः).

The sentence वेदविभागं पुराणं च चकार is significant. It shows that Vyāsa is not regarded as the author of the Vedas but simply an arranger, while he is regarded as the author of the Purāṇa. It is needless to say anything about the poetic skill of Vyāsa. Suffice it to say that he is regarded as कविवेधस् by Bāṇa (व्यासाय कविवेधसे, Harṣacarita 1.3).

तां शिवां वेद is the reading in Devībhāgavata ; it is faulty for the verb वेद (from the root विद्) signifies present tense, and as such it cannot be construed with दध्यौ (a form of लिट्लकार of the root ध्यै). Moreover the sense of the root *vid* (to know) does not suit here, while सिषेवे (from the root सेव सेवायाम्) suits the context.

(23b-26a) When Mahendra requested Sadāśiva to expound *tattvajñāna* (the knowledge of reality) he meditated on the goddess Sarasvatī and disclosed the knowledge to Mahendra (i. e. Indra) Mahendra requested Bṛhaspati to declare the science of words. Bṛhaspati after meditating on Sarasvatī at Puṣkara received a boon from her and taught Mahendra the science of words with meanings (i. e. the analysis as well as the meanings of words).

The source of the dialogue between Mahendra and Sadāśiva is not known. The incident of Mahendra's requesting Bṛhaspati and Bṛhaspati's teaching of the science of words is described in the clearest terms in the Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali.[12] Indra's connection with the analysis of words is stated in Tai. Saṁ. 6.4.73 also. The existence of Indra's Vyākaraṇa is beyond doubt.[13]

(26b–29a) Those by whom disciples were taught and those great sages who studied scripture devoutly meditated on the goddess in order to perform their duties. The goddess is extolled and worshipped by the great sages, Manus, human beings, *daityas*, gods as well as by Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva.

Yājñavalkya showed humility to the goddess in the last stanza of his स्तोत्र : When sahasrāsya (one having 1000 faces i.e. Anantanāga, king of snakes), Pañcavaktra (the deity having five faces i. e. Śiva, who is often called Pañcānana) and Caturmukha (the god having four faces i.e. Brahmā) fail to extol the goddess Sarasvatī—how can I, a human being, having only one mouth extol you ?

Ram Shankar Bhattacharya

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12. एवं श्रूयते बृहस्पतिरिन्द्राय दिव्यं वर्षसहस्रं प्रतिपदोक्तानां शब्दानां शब्दपारायणं प्रोवाच, नान्तं जगाम (महाभाष्य, पस्पशाह्निक).

13. See 'On the Aindra System of Sanskrit Grammar' by Burnell and 'संस्कृतव्याकरणशास्त्र का इतिहास' vol. I pp. 80-89 by Y. Mīmāṁsaka for a historical as well as a śāstric account of Indra's grammar.

HINDU BRAHMĀ IN THAI LITERATURE*

By

MANEEPIN PHROMSUTHIRAK

The physical description of Brahmā in Thai literature is nearly similar to the Hindu account. His best known characteristics are having four faces and riding on the Swan Lord. These two are always mentioned whenever Brahmā is referred to in any Thai text. However, differences occur too. In Hindu mythology Brahmā, who has four faces, has only four hands.[1] In most Thai literary works Brahmā is described as having eight hands. In only one place is Brahmā referred to as a deity with four hands. But there is still a slight difference even in this description. In Hindu mythology Brahmā has four hands holding a sceptre, a spoon, a string of beads (or his bow Parivīta, or a water-jug), and the Vedas. In the Thai account Brahmā's four hands hold a sceptre, an alms-bowl, and the Vedas.[2] The fourth object is missing in the Thai text, while an alms-bowl is wanting in the Hindu list.

The difference in the number of Brahmā's hands is considered to be late Thai literary tradition. From the twelfth century onwards until Ratanakosin period Brahmā (though often confused with the Buddhist Brahmas) has been represented in sculpture as having four faces and four hands.[3] It is likely that the poets of the Ratanakosin period must have speculated that the god should have eight hands, a reasonable number, to agree with his four faces. The sculptures of Brahmā in Thailand do not give much help in infor-

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1. John Dowson, *A Classical Dictionary of Hindu Mythology*, 12th ed; London, 1972, p. 57.
2. Lūang Thammāphimon (Thu'k), "Chan Klom Phra Sawēt Wachiraphaha" *Chumnum Chan Dutsadī Sangwoei*, Bangkok, 1914, p. 313.
3. Dhanit Yūpho, "Phrom Sī Nā" *Sinlapakorn*, IX (February, 1965), pp. 24-25.

ming what he has in his hands. This is because most of the time it is the Buddhist Brahmas, who possess the same physical characteristics as the Hindu Brahmā, i.e., four faces and four hands, who are represented. Most of these Brahmas are represented as one of the chief attendants of Buddha. They are usually coupled with Indra and are represented as holding more or less the same things as Indra, such as an umbrella for Buddha, a cauri whip—part of Buddha's regalia, and a lotus.[4] But there is one sculpture[5] in which a Brahma is represented as holding a water-jug which is also held by the Hindu Brahmā. This and the following passages show that the confusion between Buddhist Brahmas and the Hindu Brahmā in Thai culture in general, not just in literature in particular, is very great.

Four major characteristics of Hindu Brahmā are referred to in Thai literature. They are: (1) as the Creator of the world, (2) as the Lord of Knowledge, (3) as being responsible for the destiny of any creature, (4) as being born from a lotus rising from the navel of Viṣṇu.

Brahmā the Creator, together with his creation, is mentioned in the *Lilit Ongkān Chaeng Nam* (attributed to the 14th century) which is one of the few extant early works of the Ayuthya period. It concerns ritual oath-taking. In the invocation to the Hindu triad in the *Lilit Ongkān Chaeng Nam* nearly all the prominent characteristics of Brahmā are mentioned. It is clear from these characteristics that Brahmā here is the Hindu deity rather than any Buddhist one. The passage which follows reveals this.

> The Lord, who has a lotus as his seat, is four-faced. He, who rides on the Swan Lord, created the earth and the sky. He has reigned over the universe (brahmāṇḍa, see below) for a very long time. He is renowned for his justice and the great Lord of Knowledge.[6]

This passage, however, discusses certain other characteristics which are not so unequivocal. In this text, Brahmā, the Creator in the Hindu Pantheon is partially confused with a being or beings

4. *Ibid.*, p. 27.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 28.
6. "Lilit Ongkān Chaeng Nam", *Lilit Lae Nirāt*, by Watchari Romyanan, Bangkok, 1974, p. 11.

termed *Phrom* (Brahma) by Thai Buddhists. Thus in additon to the above characteristics, he is also called 'the revealer of the Sixteen Tiers of Brahma-Heavens.'[7]

In the Buddhist literature Brahma is multiple. These multiple Brahmas are not seen as founding figures of the Buddhist cosmology but rather as mere dwellers in it with responsibilities for lordship over certain levels of heaven. Any sage or hermit who attains a certain level or virtue, accompanied by meditation and contemplation, may be born in one of these Sixteen Tiers which all together are called Rūpa Bhūmi or Rūpa Brahmaloka, 'The Brahma World of Form'. Sages who attain higher levels of meditation may be born in Arūpa Bhūmi or Arūpa Brahmaloka, 'The Formless Brahma World', which consists of four heavens. The Sixteen Tiers of the Brahma Heavens are described in the *Trai Phūm Phra Ruang* attributed to Phrayā Li Thai of Sukhothai (14th century) as a thousand times more splendid than the heaven of Indra. In each tier of the Brahma Heavens there is a lord who is ruler over it. Among these Brahma Lords, Lord Mahā Brahma and Lord Sahampati Brahma are better known than the others.[8]

The Hindu Brahmā the Creator rules only one particular heaven. It is called Brahmaloka or Satyaloka, which is the world of Infinite Wisdom and Truth. It is the highest world above the earth, and is the seventh in order counting up from the Pitṛloka, Indraloka (or Svarga), Divaloka (or heaven), Gandharvaloka (or Mahāloka which is the world of celestial spirits), Janaloka (or the sphere of saints), and Tapoloka (the region of the seven sages)[9]

What is certain is that Brahmā the Creator is not found in the classic Thai work on cosmology the *Trai Phūm Phra Ruang*. There is, however, mention of Brahmā as Creator in some other Buddhist scriptures. In these texts it is highly likely that Brahmā the Hindu deity is meant. For example, in the Agañña Suttanta of the *Dīghanikāya*, which is a part of the Suttapiṭaka, sages Vasiṣṭha and

7. *Ibid.*

8. Phrayā Li Thai, *Trai Phūm Phra Ruang*, 8th ed.; Bangkok, 1972, pp. 237-248.

9. Matsya Purāṇa 86.6; 178.76; Bhāgavata Purāṇa IV 31.23; XI 23.30; Vāyu Purāṇa 101.27.

Bharadvāja tell lord Buddha that Brahmins think that they only are perfect, and no others. This is because they were created by Brahmā (brahmanimmitā), and were born from his mouth (brahmaṇo mukhato jātā).[10] It follows that Brahmā the Creator here is Hindu, not Buddhist. The concept of brahmins being born from the mouth of Brahmā is as old as the time of the Ṛgveda, and is sustained in all later Hindu works.

The fact that Brahmā in the *Lilit Ongkān Chaeng Nam* is described as 'four-faced' allies the passage still more with the Hindu tradition. In the Buddhist scriptures the Brahmas are nowhere described as having four faces. In the *Trai Phūm Phra Ruang*, the Brahmas in the Rūpa Bhūmi are described as having hands that shine : One single hand of a Brahma can shine over ten thousand universes. Their hair is beautiful and bound in a chignon. Brahmas in the Arūpa Bhūmi are mere effulgences or spirits without forms.[11]

The word 'brahmāṇḍa' appearing in the *Lilit Ongkān Chaeng Nam* puts additional emphasis on Brahmā as the Hindu deity. In the *Manusmṛti*, 'brahmāṇḍa' is the egg which was engendered from a seed placed in the water by Brahmā himself. Then Brahmā entered into this egg and stayed there inside for a whole year before he broke it into two parts. Out of these two halves he formed heaven and earth.[12] In later works this egg is given still more characteristics in addition to being the abode of Brahmā in the beginning of the world. The duration of Brahmā's stay inside it is also lengthened to a thousand years. In the end the egg has the connotation of 'the universe'. The description of this primeval egg in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* may be quoted as an example.

> In that egg, O Brahmin, were the continents and seas and mountains, the planets and divisions of the universe, the gods, the demons, and mankind.[13]

The appearance of the word 'brahmāṇḍa' in the *Lilit Ongkān Chaeng Nam* makes it certain that it is Brahmā the Hindu deity which is meant, and not any Buddhist Brahma.

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10. Dīghanikāya III. 81.
11. Phrayā Li Thai, Trai Phūm...., p. 242.
12. Manusmṛti I. 8-13.
13. Viṣṇu Purāṇa I.2.54-55.

Another point which definitely shows that Brahmā in the *Litit Ongkān Chaeng Nam* is Brahmā the Creator, not Lord Maha Brahma or Lord Sahampati Brahma of the Buddhist tradition, is that Brahmā is invoked together with Śiva and Viṣṇu[14], the other two of the Hindu triad, and he therefore completes this triad.

The description of the Hindu Brahmā, then, associated with the mention of the Sixteen Tiers of the (Buddhist) Brahmaloka, provides evidence of a confused attitude towards the two traditions.

The confusion between the Hindu Brahmā the Creator and a Buddhist Brahma persists through time and becomes more pronounced in some Ratanakosin literary works. In the *Sanphasit Kham Chan* (1829), a renowned poetic Jātaka tale, Prince Paramānuchitchinorot, the learned author, invokes Brahmā as 'Lord Thādā (Sanskrit : dhātā) or the Creator, who has four faces and lives happily in the Sixteen Tiers of the Brahma Heavens.'[15] In the *Chan Sangwoei Klong Winitchai Phērī* (A poem in *chan* meter for the religious ceremony of the installation of a drum—Winitchai Phērī the Court Judgement Drum) the same author replaces Brahmā the Creator with the Buddhist Sahampati Brahma in the invocation to the Hindu triad.[16] Phrayā Sī Sunthon Wāhān (Noi), a very famous Thai language preceptor who lived during the reign of King Rama IV and Rama V, in *Chan Klom Phra Sawēt Suwaphāphan* (A poem in *chan* meter sung as a lullaby for a royal elephant called Phra Sawēt Suwaphāphan), invokes Brahmā as a deity with four faces who rides on a Swan; he also reveals the Sixteen Tiers of Heaven.[17]

The confusion of the Hindu god Brahmā with Buddhist Brahmas illustrated above provides evidence for the existence of Buddhist myths side by side, or in confusion with, Hindu myths. The myths of creation in Thai literature also show the same confusion.

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14. "Lilit Ongkān Chaeng Nam" *Lilit Lae Nirāt*, pp. 7-11.
15. Somdet Phra Mahā Samana Chao Kromaphra Paramānuchitchinorot, *Sanphasit Kham Chan*, 2nd ed.; Bangkok : Khurusaphā, 1968, p. 1.
16. Somdet Kromaphra Paramānuchitchinorot, "Chan Sangwoei Klong Winitchai Phērī", *Chummum Chan....*, p. 96.
17. Phrayā Sī Sunthon Wohān (Noi), "Chan Klom Phra Sawēt Suwaphāphan", Ibid, p. 155.

The earliest Thai myth of creation by a Hindu god is narrated in the *Lilit Ongkān Chaeng Nam.* The *Lilit Ongkān Chaeng Nam* agrees with most Hindu scriptures in making Brahmā the performer of creation.

Creation, as narrated in the *Lilit Ongkān Chaeng Nam,* is according to Hindu traditional cosmogony, pratisarga or 're-creation' which occurs at the beginning of each Kalpa, or Day of Brahmā. What attests this supposition is the description of a partial destruction of the world which takes place at the end of every previous Day of Brahmā. It affects only inferior creatures and lower worlds. Gods, Buddhist Brahmas and sages, are left unharmed. Here is the description of the destruction of the world in the *Lilit Ongkān Chaeng Nam.*

> The story of the destruction of the universe by fire will be narrated. At that time seven suns blazed forth and dried up all the waters in the world. Fat from seven fishes which lived beneath the earth set fire to the world. It burned up all the Hells and the worlds of the Asuras, the Pretas and the animals. It burned up to the Tāvatimsa Heaven of Indra and turned it into ashes. A great crowd of gods fled as refugees into the Suddhāvāsa Heavens which were not burned because they were ruled by Lord Brahmas. Then the sky became clear. The fire stopped. Heavy rain then poured down on the earth extinguishing the great fire. The seven fishes floated with the rising water up as far as the sky itself and reached the moon and the stars. Strong winds blew violently. Khun Phāen (the Creator) created cities for Indra and for Buddhist Brahmas.[18] He recreated earth and heaven as they used to be. Khun Phāen created four continents, Mount Sumeru,

18. The meaning of the word *thādā* (Sanskrit : dhātā) used here should not be taken as "Brahmā the Creator" only, but as a Buddhist Brahma too. This is because the author of the *Ongkān Chaeng Nam,* after mentioning that Brahmā had revealed the Sixteen Tiers of Buddhist Brahmas, goes on to say that Khun Phāen (i. e. the Creator) also provided *mu'ang In* and *mu'ang Thādā* (cities for Indra and for Dhātā). It is not considered likely that the Creator here is referring to a city for himself. It is more likely, in fact that the *mu'ang Thādā* here is another term for the Sixteen Tiers of the Brahma heavens mentioned earlier.

> Mount Kailāsa, Mount Gandhamādana and other great mountains as before.[19]

The above description of the dissolution of the world has some similarity to the great destruction described in the *Trai Phūm Phra Ruang*.[20] All the incidents and the agents of the destruction of the world too, are very similar to those in the *Lilit Ongkān Chaeng Nam*. But in the Buddhist treatise, after the dissolution of heaven and earth has been described, there follows an account of how these re-evolve into their previous shapes and conditions by themselves. Brahmā the Creator is not involved in the matter at all. The following passage bears this out.

> After the great fire had stopped and the whole world was swallowed up by the great flood, four kinds of strong winds blew water to and fro. In the end the waters evolved into the Heaven of Lord Mahā Phrom. All gods, sages and Phrom from the unharmed tiers of heavens higher up then moved down to this heaven and to the successively evolved levels below. After this, Mount Sumeru, its seven surrounding mountains including their encircling oceans, the four continents, the world of human beings, Pretas, animals, Asuras and the Hells, appeared in the same forms and shapes as before.[21]

Whilst the destruction of the world in the *Lilit Ongkān Chaeng Nam* is reminiscent of passages in some Buddhist texts, such as the *Visuddhimagga* of Buddhaghosa and the *Trai Phūm Phra Ruang* of Phrayā Li Thai, the re-creation of the world by Brahmā in the *Lilit Ongkān Chaeng Nam* is also slightly similar to the Hindu myth on the same subject, i. e., the creation of the world by Brahmā, which is as old as the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*. Hereunder is a passage from the *Liṅga Purāṇa* quoted to attest the statement.

> At the end of the night, Brahmā wakes up and beholds a void instead of the world of mobile and immobile creation. Then he, the most excellent among the knowers of Brahman, decides to create. He assumes the form of a boar and lifts

19. "Lilit Ongkān Chaeng Nam", *Lilit Lae Nirāt*, pp. 13-16.
20. Phrayā li Thai, *Trai Phūm....*, pp. 294-298.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 300-303.

the earth which is submerged under the water. He lifts it up and places it as before, together with all the rivers, rivulets and oceans. With great effect he makes the earth even. He gathers together on the earth all the mountains burned by fire. He establishes the four worlds as before. He, the lord creator, then decides to create everything afresh.[22]

In later parts of the *Liṅga Purāna*[23] and in some other Purāṇas[24] the boar form of Brahmā is taken over by Viṣṇu. It becomes one of his avatāras. In the *Lilit Ongkān Chaeng Nam*, and in other Thai literary works, there is no mention of Brahmā's taking the form of a boar in order to lift up the earth, as described in the Hindu scriptures above.

It is likely that the Buddhist account of the creation of the world was widely accepted by the Thais at the time of the composition of the *Lilit Ongkān Chaeng Nam*. This explains its existence in in an avowedly Brahmanistic text. However it can be seen that this Buddhist account is slightly altered at the end. The agent of creation, unknown to Buddhist cosmologists, has been inserted. This is none other than *Khun Phāēn*. There may be an argument whether *Khun Phāēn* is the same as Brahmā or not. How is it that the word 'Brahmā' is not used here ? A plausible answer is that by that time there was already confusion between Hindu Brahmā and Buddhist Brahma. This can be seen from the passages above. If the word Brahmā or Brahma had been used in the place of *Khun Phāēn*, there might have been a misunderstanding among the readers. They might have thought that it was Mahā Brahma or Sahampati Brahma who was the creator. This was certainly not intended by the Brahmins who composed the text.

Moreover, if the word Brahmā had been used here, there might have been confusion with the word dhātā, in the same stanza, which refers to Buddhist Brahma. In the invocation, the description of Brahmā in the text indicates that by that time Brahma was known by the Thais as the creator of the world. Therefore, the

22. Liṅga Purāṇa, I. 4. 60-63.
23. *Ibid.*, I. 94.
24. Bhāgavata Purāṇa III. 13. 18-45; X. 2. 40;
 Viṣṇu Purāṇa V. 5. 15;
 Matsya Purāṇa 47.43.

same creator figure (but with a different name) who occurs in the following passage on the creation, cannot be anybody else. Finally, there is no folk-tale about, or legend of, a figure called *Khun Phāēn*, except for the one in the *Lilit Ongkān Chaeng Nam*, who performs any kind of creation. Therefore, it is certain that *Khun Phāēn* in the *Lilit Ongkān Chaeng Nam* is meant to be the same as Brahmā the creator.

Confusion of multiple Buddhist Brahmas with the Hindu god Brahmā occurring in the *Lilit Ongkān Chaeng Nam*, also exists in another Thai work on cosmology called *Nārāi Sip Pāng*. In the *Nārāi Sip Pāng*, there is mention of some Brahmas who became jealous of Brahmā the Creator and were therefore born as Asuras.

In the Thai story of the Fish Incarnation of Viṣṇu, in the *Nārāi Sip Pāng* a Brahma is described as being envious of Brahmā the Creator. He thinks, "I am also a Brahma who has four faces and eight hands. Therefore I will not let any Brahma be superior to me." For this sin he is born as Śaṅkha Asura, 'Conch Demon', who robs Brahmā the Creator of the Vedic texts. Śaṅkha Asura is the cause of Viṣṇu's incarnating himself as a fish in order to win the Vedic texts back by force.[25]

In the same text, i. e. the *Nārāi Sip Pāng*, another group of Brahmas thinks that Śiva has done something improper. He has permitted Brahmā the Creator to have the Swan Lord as his vehicle. This Swan Lord should rightly belong to them who became Brahmas before Brahmā the Creator. As a result of their jealousy these Brahmas are born as Asura Macchā, 'Fish Demons'. They want to destroy the Sumeru Mountain. This causes Viṣṇu to take the form of a turtle in order to kill them all.[26]

It is unlikely that Thai authors got the idea of multiple Brahmas from the Hindu Brahmarṣi, which, in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*,[27] are nine in number. These Brahmarṣi are Marīci, Atri, Aṅgiras, Pulaha, Kratu, Pulastya, Vasiṣṭha, Bhṛgu and Dakṣa. Of this list only Vasiṣṭha appears in Thai literature (as one of the two precep-

25. Praphan Sukhonthachāt (ed.), *Nārāi Sip Pāng Lae Phong Nai Rū'ang Rāmakīan*, 2nd ed.; Bangkok, 1968, p. 6.
26. *Ibid.*, p. 10.
27. Viṣṇu Purāṇa, I. 7.5, 7, 37.

tors of Rāma and Lakṣmana), but he is never referred to as Brahmā but always as ṛṣi, tāpasas, or siddha. The last two names of the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa's* list, viz. Bhṛgu and Dakṣa appear to be mere additions to the list of seven sages (saptarṣi) as found in the *Mahābhārata.*[28] These Brahmarṣi are described, in the *Manusmṛti*,[29] as the same as Prajāpatis which are ten in number. Nārada is added. Teachers of Thai classical music regard Nārada as their great preceptor. Nārada is always called ṛṣi by them. These ten Prajāpatis are created by Manu Svāyambhuva for the production of all other beings including gods and men. At a later period they are described as the mind-born sons of Brahmā. It might be thought possible that these sons of Brahmā, who are also the progenitors of all beings in the world, could easily have been confused by Thai authors with Brahmā the Creator. But this is not the case. Whenever these mind-born sons of Brahmā appear in Thai literature, they are always called ṛṣis, or siddhas, or tāpasas. In the *Rāmakīan*,[30] sages Vasiṣṭha, Bharadvāja, Svāmitra (for Viśvāmitra?) and Vajja Aggi (for Jamadagni) are described as the chief sages belonging to the race of Rāma. Only one among these names, i.e. Vasiṣṭha, is on the list of the mind-born sons of Brahmā. Vasiṣṭha, Viśvāmitra, Bharadvāja, and Jamadagni, however, belong to the list of the Hindu saptarṣi or the seven sages mentioned in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*.[31] It is certain that it is the ṛṣis, not the mind-born sons of Brahmā, who are referred to in the Thai literature.

In Thai literature the Buddhist Brahmas persistently appear in, or side by side with, the myths of Brahmā the Creator. In the *Lilit Ongkān Chaeng Nam*[32] Brahmā the Creator is described as creating cities for Indra and the (Buddhist) Brahmas. In the *Nārāi Sip Pāng*[33] and the *Rāmakīan* the Buddhist Sahampati Brahma appears in the myth of the construction of the city of Laṅkā, capital of Rāvaṇa. In the *Rāmakīan*[34] of King Rama I, Sahampati Brahma

28. Mahābhārata XII. 208. 3-4.
29. Manusmṛti I. 34-35.
30. Phrabāt Somdet Phra Phuttha Yot Fā Chulā Lok (King Rama I), *Rāmakīan*, vol. I, Bangkok, 1951, p. 271.
31. Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad II. 2.3-4.
32. "Lilit Ongkān Chaeng Nam", *Lilit Lae Nirāt*, p. 15.
33. Khun Ying Lū'an Rit (ed.), *Nārāi Sip Pāng*, 1923, p. 24.
34. King Rama I, *Rāmakīan*, vol. I, pp. 15-19.

comes down from heaven to an island called Rang Kā (meaning 'crows' nest, a Thai punning allusion to Laṅkā). He sees that it is a very suitable place to build a city. He Viṣṇu Brahma (a figure unknown in Hindu mythology to build the city and names it Laṅkā. Then the Buddhist Sahampati Brahma sends Brahmadhātā or Brahmā the Creator to come down and rule that city. Brahmadhātā is renamed Chaturaphak (Sanskrit : catura vaktra, an epithet of Brahmā). Chaturaphak is the grand-father of Rāvaṇa. The persistent appearance of the Buddhist Brahmas associated with the myths of Brahmā the Creator makes it clear that the multiple Brahmas in Thai literature are Buddhist, not Hindu, and thought of as enjoying a separate (and sometimes superior) existence of their own.

It is possible, however, that in Thai tradition, the idea of multiple Brahmas may not be exclusively Buddhist. There is another category called Asuraphrom (Demon Brahmas). These are notionally Hindu. In the *Nārāi Sip Pāng* an Asuraphrom named Mūlākhanī (Sanskrit : Mūlāgni) is very proud of himself and oppresses the three worlds. Śiva has to come down from the Kailāsa Mountain to kill him and bring peace back to the gods.[35]

In the Buffalo Incarnation of Viṣṇu, an Asuraphrom, out of his jealousy of Brahmā the Creator, changes his body to the form of a buffalo. He wants to destroy the Sumeru Mountain. Viṣṇu has to incarnate himself as a buffalo too and kill the Asuraphrom.[36]

In the same text an Asuraphrom named Nonthuk is described as having the duty of washing the feet of the gods who come to see Śiva at the Kailāsa Mountain. Later he becomes very mighty by means of a boon given to him by Śiva. He thereupon oppresses all the gods. Śiva orders Viṣṇu to destroy him; Viṣṇu incarnates himself as a beautiful goddess and kills him by a trick.[37]

These Asuraphrom cannot be the same as Buddhist Brahmas. The Buddhist Brahmas always do good deeds and are nowhere described as demons. Asuraphrom are reminiscent of the Hindu Daityas and Dānavas, the progeny of Brahmā the Creator. In

35. Praphan Sukhonthachāt, *Nārāi Sip Pāng ....*, p. 39.
36. *Ibid.*, p. 53.
37. *Ibid.*, p. 64.

the epics and the Purāṇas, the Daityas and the Dānavas are the children of Prajāpati Kaśyapa's union with Diti and Danu, daughters of Dakṣa. Both Kaśyapa and Dakṣa are mind-born sons of Brahmā the Creator. The Daityas and the Dānavas are classes of demons. They are implacable enemies of the gods. The Daityas and the Dānavas are often identified with each other. Both of them are called Asuras.

However, it is possible that the idea of Asuraphrom in Thai literature might be influenced by the Thai story of Rāma as well. According to Thai tradition, the race of Rāvaṇa is called Brahma Vaṁśa or *Phong Phrom* (vaṃśa-brahma)[38] in Thai. This is because the first ancestor of Rāvana is Chaturaphak Phrom who is crowned as the first king of Laṅkā by Sahampati Brahma, the creator of that city.[39] Rāvaṇa and his relatives are also described as being demons or Asuras. They are then understood to be both Asuras and Brahmas. The devilish and vicious nature of Rāvaṇa and his race might thus have been the origin of a new category of wicked Brahmas. These would be called Asurabrahma.

Another distinguished characteristic of Brahmā which is recognized by the Thais is his being the Lord of Knowledge. This accords well with what Max Müller says in his introduction to the *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad* : "It is a well known fact that the Hindus, even as early as the Brāhmaṇa period, were fond of tracing their various branches of knowledge back to Brahmā or to Brahmā Svayambhū".[40] Brahmā is referred to in Thai literature as being well-versed in the Vedas, in Nītiśāstra and in the Rājadharma.[41] In *Chan Sangwoei Klong Winitchai Phērī* composed by Prince Paramānuchitchinorot to celebrate the ceremony of the installation of the Court Judgement Drum—Winitchai Pheri—, Brahmā is invoked as the guardian of martial law and the royal family laws. Here, however, Brahmā is confused with Sahampati Brahma. What makes it certain that it is the Hindu Brahmā is that this

38. King Rama I, *Rāmakīan*, Vol. I, p. 15.
39. *Ibid.*, p. 20.
40. F. Max Müller (trans.), *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad*, vol. 15 of *Sacred Book of the East*, ed. Max. Müller, Oxford, 1884, p. XXXIX.
41. Phra Ongchao Kalayā Na Prawēt, "Chan Sangwoei Phrā Mahā Sawētachat" *Chumnum Chan....*, p. 68.

Sahampati Brahma is described as being the Lord of the Lotus, Kamala-īśa. This is usually a description for the Hindu Brahmā. Brahmā, who is here described as being well-versed in the Dharmaśāstra, in the Nītiśāstra and in the Rājaśāstra, is also invoked to look after the judges and their judgements.[42]

There is a Thai myth which shows how much Brahmā is dependent on his knowledge of the Vedas. In the story of the Fish Incarnation of Viṣṇu, in the *Nārāi Sip Pāng*, Brahmā is mentioned as being in charge of the Vedas and his prestige seems to be directly dependent on these sacred texts. The conch demon comes to know of this. The demon, out of his jealousy toward Brahmā, wants to reduce the fame of the god. He therefore robs Brahmā of the sacred texts. But Brahmā is saved by Viṣṇu in the form of a fish. Viṣṇu kills the demon and gives the Vedas back to Brahmā.[43]

In the *Nārāi Sip Pāng* Brahmā is described as the great preceptor of Brahmins. He teaches them *Trai Phēt* or the Three Vedas. The Vedas, according to the *Nārāi Sip Pāng*, contain knowledge of sacrificial ceremonies; Brahmanical ritual and rites; astrology and astronomy; and ancient medicine for "preserving life and wreaking destruction".[44] Here again Buddhist lore is inserted. Brahmā teaches Brahmins not only the special characteristics of the Hindu triad, of emperors, and of wealthy merchants, he also teaches them the Buddhist thirty-two auspicious signs on the body and one hundred and eighty marks on the foot of the Mahā Puruṣa, or Lord Buddha, too.[45] In this story Brahmā is also made to acknowledge

42. Somdet Kromaphra Paramānuchitchinorot, "Chan Sangwoei Klong Winitchai Phēri", *Chumnum Chan....*, p. 96.
43. Praphan Sukhonthachāt. *Nārāi Sip Pāng*, p. 6.
44. *Ibid.*, pp. 4-5.
45. The Mahā Puruṣa quoted in this passage must not be confused with an epithet of Viṣṇu who has already been mentioned in previous sentences. It cannot refer to the Ādi Puruṣa, 'the first man', of the Hindu mythology either because the Ādi Puruṣa is nowhere described in Hindu literature as possessing signs on his body. In the Māhapurisalakkhaṇāni in the *Dīghanikā* (II. 17f.; III. 142 ff.) and in the Majjhimanikāya (II. 136f.) of the *Sutta Piṭaka*, 'Mahāpurisa' (an equivalent of the Sanskrit word 'mahāpuruṣa,) is a name given to a great being who is destined to become either an emperor or a Buddha. He carried on his person thirty-two marks. In the text with

the superiority of a Buddhist figure, as he has to in the myth of the construction of the city of Laṅkā for Rāvaṇa too. Brahmā is quoted, in the *Nārāi Sip Pāng*, as advising Brahmins to worship the Mahā Puruṣa first. When they have done that, then only can they turn to pay homage to him. If Brahmins do not follow his advice their merit will be unfruitful.[46]

Brahmā is responsible for the destiny of any creature he has created. There is a superstitious idea which prevails very generally throughout India that on the sixth day after birth Brahmā writes the child's future destiny on its forehead. The lines of destiny written by Brahmā are called Brahmarekhā or Brahmalikhita. Oddly enough there is no special ceremony instituted to mark this particular day, or to propitiate Brahmā on so momentous an occasion.[47] The Thais have also adopted the idea of Brahmalikhita from the Hindus. The Thais do not have any ceremony relating to the day of Brahmā's writing the predestination lines on a child's forehead either. The idea of the Thai Brahmalikhita is mostly explained indirectly in Thai literary works. The word Brahmalikhita connotes solely predestination with regard to the moment of death. It is noteworthy that the word is most of the time used with a word *thu'ng* meaning 'reaching'. The phrase *thu'ng Phromlikhit* (*thu'ng* Brahmalikhita) would then translate an expression such as 'Reaching the last stage of one's predestined life'. In the *Rāmakīan*, when Vālī realizes that the wrong done to his brother Sugrīva is going to be penalized by Rāma, he accepts that his body and his life have reached 'Brahmalikhita' on that day.[48] In the

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which we are concerned it is definite that an emperor is not meant here because an emperor too has already been mentioned in preceding sentences. In the *Nārāi Sip Pāng*, therefore, the possibility arises that, once again the Hindu god Brahmā the Creator is being confused with the Suddhāvāsa Brahmas as mentioned in the *Papañca Sūdanī*, Majjhima Commentary of Buddhaghosa (II. 761). When the time comes for the birth of a Buddha, then Brahmas visit the earth in the guise of Brahmins and teach men about these bodily signs as forming part of the Vedic teaching so that thereby auspicious men may recognize the Buddha.

46. Praphan Sukhonthachāt, *Nārāi Sip Pāng........*, p. 5.
47. Sir Monier Monier Williams, *Brahmanism and Hinduism*, 4th ed.; London, 1891, p. 370.
48. King Rama I, *Rāmakīan*, vol. II, pp. 740.

Khun Chāng Khun Phāēn (a romantic epic of the lives of Khun Chang and Khun Phāēn), the hero Khun Phāēn consoles Phra Wai, his son, for the death of Wan Thong, his wife and Phra Wai's mother, that all living men and women have to relinquish life when they 'come to the Brahmalikhita'.[49] However, there is one example where Brahmā is described as being responsible for the misery of a living being, and yet the word Brahmalikhita is not used here. In the *Dutsadī Sangwoei Klom Chāng Khong Kao* (a poem sung as a lullaby for a newly captured white elephant) believed to have been composed during the Ayuthya period (date uncertain), the poet consoles the newly captive elephant that it should not be so depressed at being separated from its family and from the forest surroundings. All these sufferings are the result of the power of his own 'karma' which has been deliberately predestined by Brahmā. The elephant should not blame either its own family or any man or god.[50] It is quite clear that the idea of Brahmalikhita is meant in this example even though the word is absent. It is noteworthy that the word Brahmalikhita is not found in any of the literary texts composed during the early period of Ayuthya. The word 'karma' (Thai : *kam*) appears in its place and is also used with the verb *thu'ng*. In the *Lilit Phra Lo*, Phra Lo consoles his mother, who is greatly agitated by his departure for their enemies kingdom, saying that he cannot keep his hold on life once he 'reaches his karma'.[51] When the word karma is used without the word *thu'ng* it always denotes bad deeds done in the past (which can be from previous births also). This meaning is clearly and widely expressed in Thai literary works of all periods. It is possible that this meaning of the word karma also plays some part when the same word is used with *thu'ng*. But it may have a slightly different meaning, i. e. the power of bad deeds performed in the past resulting in death. The doctrine of karma, the result of the deeds of one life affecting the next, is first referred to in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*. The text declares that the souls of those who have lived lives of sacrifice, charity and austerity,after certain obscure peregrinations, pass to the World of the Fathers, the paradise of Yama, while the unrighteous are

49. *Khun Chāng Khun Phāēn*, 11th ed; Bangkok : Sinlapa Bannakhan, 1966, p. 886.
50. "Dutsadī Sangwoei Klom Chāng", *Chumnum Chan....*, p. 116.
51. *Lilit Phra Lo*, Bangkok : Sinlapalorn, 1953, p. 44.

reincarnated as worms, birds or insects.[52] This doctrine of karma soon became fundamental to most Indian thought, whether Hindu or Buddhist. It provided a satisfactory explanation to the mystery of suffering. The Thais have adopted this doctrine from Buddhism. There is a very understandable tendency to confuse karma with simpler ideas of fate or destiny. Later on, when the idea of Brahmalikhita had been adopted, the two words were further confused and used as if they were one and the same. However, by the time of the early Ratanakosin period each of them had come to have their own idiomatic usages and thus attained some degree of independence from each other.

Thai literature contains some accounts of the creation myth which presents a rather Vaiṣṇava point of view. An account of Brahmā's birth from the navel of Viṣṇu is referred to in some works. In the *Khlong Thawāthotsamāt*, (Poem on Twelve Months), (attributed to the 15th century), Brahmā the Creator is invoked as 'The Lord whose great delight is in staying in the navel which shines brilliantly'.[53] This undoubtedly refers to the Purāṇic myth of Brahmā being born from the umbilicus of Viṣṇu. This myth may be accepted without refutation as a Vaiṣṇava myth. It is narrated in both epics and in nearly all of the Vaiṣṇava Purāṇas. The Śaiva scriptures also have this story, but make Brahmā and his progenitor Viṣṇu inferior to Śiva.

There are some interpolations in the myth of the Lotus-Born Brahmā in some works of the Ratanakosin period. In the *Nārāi Sip Pāng* (Watcharin Press Version) it is not only Brahmā who rises from the navel of Viṣṇu. A character of considerable importance in the Thai story of Rāma is also described as a lotus-born child of Viṣṇu. In the Watcharin Press Version of the *Nārāi Sip Pāng*,[54] after Viṣṇu in the form of a boar has killed the demon Herantayak, he returns to his own form and goes back to sleep on the Serpent Lord Ananta in the Ocean of Milk. While he is lying there a lotus springs from his navel. That lotus unfolds and from within it Brahmā, who has four faces, appears holding a princely child.

52. Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad VI. 2.16.
53. Chanthip Krasāēsin(ed.), *Khlong Thawāthotsamāt*, Bangkok, 1961, p. 55.
54. Praphan Sukhonthachāt. *Nārāi Sip Pāng...*, p. 11.

Viṣṇu takes the child from Brahmā and goes to Mount Kailāsa to present him to Śiva. Śiva, by means of meditation, realizes that the boy will extend the race of Nārāyaṇa or Viṣṇu. Śiva, therefore, orders Indra to build a city on earth for the boy. The city is named Ayuthya, and is described as being as beautiful as heaven. Śiva names the boy Lord Anomātan and blesses him with the power to overcome all evil demons. Śiva gives Lord Anomātan a discus and a diamond mace and sends him down to earth to rule over Ayuthya. He is the great-grand-father of Rāma. In the other two versions of the *Nārāi Sip Pāng*, (i. e. the Royal Press and the Lū'an Rit Versions)[55], the original lotus-born child of Viṣṇu, i.e. Brahmā is absent. Only the interpolated character is retained. It is Lord Anomātan only who rises from the navel of Viṣṇu while he is lying in the Ocean of Milk. To account for these differences, it is not sufficient merely to say that the scribes copied the story wrongly. The Royal Press Version of the *Nārāi Sip Pāng* was acknowledged as authentic by the court scholars of King Rama V. Its acceptance as a work of authority can be judged from the following. In the year 1879 King Rama V commanded his court poets to compose poems on the Ten Incarnations of Viṣṇu recorded in the *Nārāi Sip Pāng* (Royal Press Version). These poems were to be inscribed on a wall in the Emerald Buddha Temple.[56]

Brahmā the Creator does not appear at this juncture in the *Rāmakīan* of King Rama I either. Here, again, it is Lord Anomātan only who appears from the lotus rising from the navel of Viṣṇu. But it does not mean that the author, or the compiler of the text, had no knowledge of the original myth. There is even a passing reference to Brahmā the Creator's lotus-birth in this work. Lord Anomātan is described as, 'A handsome child who appears in the

55. *Ibid.*, p. 49;

Khun Ying Lū'an Rid (ed.), *Nārāi Sip Pāng*, Bangkok, 1923, p. 22. The *Nārāi Sip Pāng* exists in prose in three versions; the Royal Press version, the Watcharin Press Version, and the version of Khun Ying Lū'an Rit. The Royal Press version was first published in 1874 under the title of *Thēwapāng*, "Incarnations of the Gods" and republished in 1935 under the title of *Nārāi Sip Pāng* "Ten Incarnations of Nārāyaṇa". The Watcharin Press version was first published in 1869 and again in 1901. The version of Khun Ying Lū'an Rit was published in 1923.

56. Praphan Sukhonthachāt, *Nārāi Sip Pāng*...., p. (8).

lotus as if he were mighty Brahmā whose vehicle is the Swan Lord.'[57]

It can be certain that Brahmā is omitted from the text in order that Lord Anomātan may possess more dignity and power. Thus it appears that the myth of Brahmā's being born from a lotus must, tacitly at least, have been accepted in the Thai story of Rāma. But something else is put in its stead. The figure of Brahmā, is replaced by that of Anomātan, probably with the aim of praising the race of Rāma, the hero of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. To be more specific : the attempt seems to have been made to associate Rāma's ancestor directly with Viṣṇu, without Brahmā being an intermediary in any way. Thus the line is Viṣṇu-Anomātan-(Atchabān-Daśaratha)-Rāma in contrast to the line Brahmā-Pulastya-Rāvaṇa.

Brahmā appears as performing the creation in the *Lilit Ongkān Chaeng Nam* only. In another Thai work on cosmology, the *Nārāi Sip Pāng* (all versions), Brahmā is not the creator. It is Śiva who effects creation, including the creation of Brahmā. The *Nārāi Sip Pāng*, Brahmā is said to be created by Śiva at the same time as Viṣṇu. It is narrated in the text that Śiva stroked his right hand with his left hand and when he stretched out his left hand away from the right hand Nārāyaṇa (or Viṣṇu) was created. Then he stroked his left hand with his right hand and when he stretched out his right hand away from the left Brahmā was created.[58] But whenever there is an invocation to the Hindu triad, in almost all Thai texts, it is Brahmā, not Śiva, who is invoked as the creator. In the *Lilit Yuan Phāi*, the story of a battle between King Borommatrailokanāt and a northern prince, (about 15th century), King Borommatrailokanāt is compared to Brahmā the Creator. Both of them are invoked as, 'The Lord who maintains the world'.[59] In *Chan Sanrasoen Phra Mahā Maniratana Patimākon* (Poetical Eulogy on the Emerald Buddha), composed in the reign of King Rama IV, Brahmā is invoked as 'Brahmadhāta who is well versed in the Vedas; he creates the world'.[60] In the *Chan Sangwoei Phra Thīnang Bāng*

57. King Rama I, *Rāmakīan*, Vol. I, p. 5.
58. Praphan Sukhonthachāt, *Nārāi Sip Pāng*...., 1, 3. 5.
Khun Ying Lū'an Rit, *Nārāi Sip Pāng*, p. 1.
59. *Lilit Yuan Phāi*, Bangkok : National Library, 1912. p. 15.
60. Khun Sāra Prasoet (Nut), "Chan Sanrasoen Phra Mahā Maniratana Patimākon" *Chumnum Chan*...., p. 9.

Pa In (Poem on the Consecration of Bāng Pa In Palace), composed in the reign of King Rama V, Brahmā is invoked as, 'The Lord who created the world, who rides on the Swan Lord; he has eight hands.'[61] Accordingly, although there is some slight evidence for sectarian preference as to the creator (e.g. Śaiva sectarian preference as above in the *Nārāi Sip Pāng* where Śiva is the creator) the impression on the whole is that there are distinct divine agencies, each with its own function to perform. In Thai literature Brahmā is mostly invoked as the Creator; Viṣṇu as the Protector; and Śiva as the Destroyer. In the Thai view, then, although texts are not unanimous in naming Brahmā as the Creator, they nevertheless agree in maintaining his independent existence.

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61. "Chan, Sanwgoei Phra Thīnang Bāng Pa In" *Chumnum Chan....*, p. 79.

THE PURANIC TEXTS RELATING TO THE RIVERS OF INDIA

By

C. A. Lewis

The puranic texts are rich in describing the mountains and rivers of India. The texts have been analysed by Kirfel (Das Purana von Weltgebauden p. 111f. ; Bharatavarsha, 1931, p. 21 f.) and Sircar (I. H. Q. 27 (1951) p. 215 f.), who have each established their own texts. A comparative study of the lists of these two scholars will form the subject of this chapter. First of all the seven kulaparvatas of Bharatavarsha are mentioned by both texts, i. e. Mahendra, Malaya, Sahya, Śuktimān, Ṛkṣa, Vindhya and Pāriyātra. Next the rivers of Bharatavarsha are enumerated according to the mountain they flow from, either from Himavat or one of the seven kulaparvatas. Corruption of the text has frequently occurred so that the texts do not always agree on names. A comparative study of them will do much to restore the original texts.

Rivers flowing from the Himalayas.

Kirfel's text.

pīyante yair imā nadyo Gaṅgā Sindhu Sarasvatī
Śatadruś Candrabhāgā ca Yamunā Sarayūs tathā
Irāvatī Vitasta cā Vipāśā Devikā Kuhūḥ
Gomatī Dhūtapāpā ca Bāhudā ca Dṛṣadvatī
Kauśikī ca Tṛtiyā ca Niścīrā Gaṇḍakī tathā
Cakṣur Lohita iytetā Himavatpādaniḥsṛtāḥ

Sircar's text corresponds exactly with that of Kirfel except that in place of Cakṣur Lohita he reads Ikṣu Lauhitya.

The above rivers may be identified as follows :

Gaṅgā. Ganges.
Sindhu. Indus.

Sarasvatī. Sursuti, which rising in the Sirmur Hills disappears amid the deserts of Rajputana. The Milanda pañho (114. Malasekhara, Dict. of Pali Proper Names, p. 1073) also refers to it as a Himalayan river. Alberuni (ed. Sachau, I. p. 259) appears to

confuse it with the Western Sarasvati, which flows into the Gulf of Chambay near Prabhāsa (mod. Somnath).

Śatadru. Sutlej. Gk. Hesidrus or Zaradros (Pliny N. H., VI. 17; Ptolemy VII. I. 27).

Candrabhāgā. Chenab. GK. Akesines or Sandabala. (Arrian., Anab. 6. 3 ; Ptolemy VII. I. 26). According to Alberuni it joined the Jhelum 50 miles above Jahravar (i. e. Sauvīra).

Yamunā. Jumna, which joins the Ganges at Allahabad. Gk. Jobares or Diamouna (Arrian., Indika 8; Ptolemy VII. I. 29).

Sarayū. Ghagra or Gogra in Oudh. Gk. Sarabos (Ptolemy VII. I. 29)

Irāvatī. Ravi. Gk. Hydraotes or Rhouadis. (Arrian., Anab. VI. 8; Ptolemy VII. I. 26).

Vitastā. Jhelum. Gk. Hydaspes or Bidaspes.

Vipāśā. Bias. Gk. Hyphasis or Bibasis.

Devikā. Either the Deva, the southern part of the Sarayū, or more probably the Deeg, a tributary of the Ravi. According to the Viṣṇudharmottara-purāṇa (Pt. I. 167. 15) it flowed through the territory of the Madras.

Kuhū. Kabul river. Gk. Kophes or Koa (Strabo XV. I. 26). Vedic Kubha (RV. 5. 53. 9; 10. 75. 6.)

Gomatī. Gumti, which joins the Ganges below Benares. There is also a tributary of the Indus called Gomatī in the Ṛgvedic list of rivers, which may be identified with the Gomal joining the Indus between Dera Ismael Khan and Pahadpur.

Dhūtapāpā. Probably a tributary of the Gumti. From its name it appears to be connected with the town of Dhopap, which is situated on that river, 18 miles S-W of Sultanpur (Dey, Geo Dict., p 57. IHQ. XXVII, p. 217).

Bāhudā. Its identity is uncertain; either it is the Dhumela formerly known as the Dhavala, tributary of the Rapti, or the Ramganga. The former identification seems preferable, one of the lexicographers (Vaij. p. 156. śl 26) gives as its synonyms Arjunī and Saitavāhini (Skt. White) and Dhavala has that meaning.

Dṛṣadvatī. Chitang. This river formed the southern limit of Kurukṣetra (M. B. 3.81.2; J.R.A.S. 25.58).

Kauśikī. Kosi, rising in Nepal.

Tṛtiyā. There is considerable doubt as to the original reading at this point. Pargiter (Mārkp. (trans). p. 293) emends it to Karatoyā, but there is no evidence for such a change. Dey (Geog. Dict. p. 207) connects it with a river Tiliyā near Gaya, but such a conjecture is wrong as the Tiliyā does not flow from the Himalayas. Alberuni's text omits this name entirely. The Mahābhārata (6.10.17) has a very attractive variant, Tridivā in its list of rivers and this may well be the correct reading here. The Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa substitutes Āpagā, but it is difficult to decide whether it is the name of an actual river or merely a descriptive adjective "flowing from".

Niścīrā. The accuracy of the form Niścīrā is established by the Kiṣkindhā section of the Rāmāyaṇa, where it is located in the East (RY. Gorr. ed. 40.20). Dey (Geog. Dict. p. 141) identifies it with the Lilajan, which joins the Mohana near Gaya, their united stream forming the Phalgu. Such an identification cannot be correct, however, as these rivers not have their sources in the Himalayas, but in Hazaribagh district. The Niścīrā must be searched for among the northern tributaries of the Ganges. Sircar (I.H.Q. 27 p. 217) regards it as an error for Trisrotas (mod. Teesta).

Gaṇḍakī. Gandak., joining the Ganges in Muzaffarpur District.

Cakṣu (Ikṣu, Sircar). Kirfel's reading Cakṣu is an error for Vakṣu (Oxus). Sircar's variant Ikṣu would appear to be the same as the Ikṣumatī of the Rāmāyaṇa (Ayodhyāk. 68), i. e. the East Kalinadi flowing through Kumaun, Rohilkhand, and the district of Kanauj. In the account of Śaka-dvīpa given by the Viṣṇupurāṇa Ikṣu is descibed as a river of that territory and is identical with the Ikṣuvardhanikā river mentioned in the corresponding passage of the Mahābhārata (6.12.30) on Śakadvīpa. However there is no doubt that the Oxus is the river intended here.

Lauhitya. Brahmaputra.

Āpaga. If this is actually intended as the name of a river, it may be identified with the Ayuk-nadi (Dey, Geog. Dict. p. 8), a river to the west of the Ravi. The Vanaparva of the Mahābhārata (3.81.55) locates it in Kurukṣetra and it is probably the same as the Apaya of the Ṛgveda (3.23.4.)

5

Rivers issuing from the Pāriyātra Mts.

Kirfel's text.

Vedasmṛtir Vedavatī Vṛtraghnī Sindhur eva
Parṇāśā Candanā caiva Sadānīrā Mahī tathā
Pārā Carmaṇvatī Nūpā Vidiśā Vetravaty api
Śiprā hy Avantī ca tathā Pariyātrāsrayāḥ smṛtāḥ,

Sircar's text is exactly similar except that he substitutes Lṛpī in place of Nūpā.

Vedasmṛti. This river has also been mentioned in the Anusāśanaparvan of the Mahābhārata (MB. Roys trans. X. p. 770). It may be identified with the Besula in Malwa.

Vedavatī. Dey suggests two identifications for the Vedavatī. One with the river Hagari, a tributary of the Tungabhadrā in Bellary district, and another with the Varadā, a southern tributary of the Kṛṣnā. (Dey., Geog. Dict, p. 28). Both of these are, however, quite untenable in view of the statement of the Purāṇas that it arises in the Pāriyātra (i. e. mountains north of the Narmadā).

Vṛtraghnī. Rājaśekhara (KM. p. 93) refers to this river under the name of Vārtaghnī and locates it in the Western division. It may be identified with the Vatrak, a tributary of the Sabarmatī in Gujerat.

Sindhu. Either the Kalisindh, a tributary of the Chambal in Malwa or alternatively the Sind rising near Sironj and flowing north into the Jumna S. E. of Etawah.

Parṇāśā. This river is mentioned in the Mahābhārata (MB. 2.9.20; 7.67.44.) and may be indentified with the Banas in Rajputana, a tributary of the Chambal.

Candanā. Perhaps another name for the Sabarmatī, which otherwise would not be mentioned despite its importance as a Pāriyātra river. It cannot be the Chandan in Santal Parganas district, West Bengal, as such a position is too far east for it to be described as a Pāriyātra river. The latter must be the Candanā of the Rāmāyaṇa. (RY. Gorr. ed. 40.20).

Sadānīrā. The mention of this river among those of the Pāriyātra is strange, as the only known river of this name appears to be in the East according to the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa (IX. 44) where

it is the boundary between Videha and Kosala and may be identified with the Rapti. The Kiṣkindhā section of the Rāmāyaṇa (RY. Gorr ed. 40.20.) similarly locates in the East. The Mahābhārata list of rivers (MB. 6.10.23. & 31) mentions two rivers of this name, one of which may be identical with the Sadānīrā of the Pāriyātra.

Mahī. The Mophis or Mais of the Greek (Ptolemy VII. I. 31.; Periplus 42). It may be identified with the Mahī rising in Malwa and flowing into the Gulf of Cambay.

Pārā. This river was also known to Varāhamihira, the author of the Bṛhatsaṁhitā (BS. 16.10.) It may be identified with the Parbati rising in Bhopal and flowing into the Chambal.

Carmaṇvatī. This river was also known to Pāṇini (VIII. 2.12.) and is also mentioned in the course of Sahadeva's southern digvijaya. (MB. 2. 28. 7). It may be identified with the Chambal, the principal river of Rajputana.

Nūpā (Kirfel). Lṛpī (Sircar). Both the name and identity of this river are very uncertain. A glance at the relevant section of a physical map of India reveals the presence of a river Lūni flowing into Rann of Kutch and rising in Marwar district. This may well be the river intended here and hence Lṛpī could represent its ancient name.

Vidiśā. Bes or Besali, which joins the Betwa at Besnagar near Bhilsa.

Vetravatī. This wellknown river is mentioned in the Bṛhatsaṁhitā (BS. 16.9.), Viṣṇusmṛti, and Kālidāsa's Meghadūta. (12. 24) It may be identified with the Betwa, a tributary of the Jumna.

Śiprā. According to Alberuni (ed. Sachau I. p. 259) Ujjain stands on this river. It is also mentioned in the Bṛhatsaṁhitā (BS. 16.9.; Rājaśekhara's Kāvyamīmāṁsā (p. 71). and Kālidāsa's Raghuvaṁśa (VI. 35) and Meghadūta (I. 31).

Avantī. Dey regards this as a synonym of Śiprā thought it seems unlikely that in such a short list, a synonym would be given. It is perhaps better to regard it as a tributary of the Chambal which rises near Mhow and flows through the area that comprised ancient Avanti.

Rivers flowing from the Ṛkṣa Mts.

Kirfel's text.

Śoṇo Mahānadī caiva Narmadā Surasā Kriyā.
Mandākinī Daśārṇā ca Citrakūṭā tathaiva ca
Tamasā Pippalī Śyenī Karatoyā Piśāśikā
Citrotpalā Vipāśā ca Vañjulā Vāluvāhinī
Sanerujā Śuktimatī Maṅkutī Tridivā Kratuḥ.
Ṛkṣapādāt prasūtās tā nadyo 'malajalāḥ śubhāḥ.

Sircar's text.

Śoṇo Mahānadī caiva Narmadā Surasā Kriyā.
Mandākiṇī Daśārṇā ca Citrakuṭā tathaiva ca
Tamasā Pippalaśroṇī Karamodā Piśāśikā
Citrotpalā Vipāśā ca Mañjulā Vāluvāhinī
Śunī Lajjā Śuktimatī Śakulī Tridivā Kramuḥ.

Śoṇa. In East according to the Rāmāyaṇa (RY. Gorr. ed. 40. 20.) and Rājaśekhara (KM. p. 93). It may be identified with the Sone, which rises in the Amarkantak range and drains northwards into the Ganges near Patna.

Mahānadī. The Manada of Ptolemy (VII. I. 16), who locates it in the Oroudia range. It may be identified with the modern river of the same name flowing through Orissa.

Narmadā. The Namados of the Greeks (Ptolemy VII. I. 31; Periplus 42) and formed the northern boundary of Dakṣiṇāpatha (Gk. Dakhinabades, Periplus 50) modern Nerbuda flowing into the Gulf of Chambay.

Surasā. The authenticity of the form Surasā is attested by the same name appearing in the independent texts of the Garuḍa and Bhāgavata-purāṇas (Gar.P. 55.8.; Bhāg. P. V. 19.18); though no identification of it appears possible. It is perhaps a tributary of the Nerbuda.

Kriyā. The Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa has a variant Adrijā. Some support for its accuracy is supplied by the Anuśāsana-parvan of the Mahābhārata, which mentions the same river (MB. ed. Roy X, p. 770)., though without any data for its identification.

Mandākinī. This river is frequently mentioned by Kālidāsa (RV. XIII. 48; MD. II. 4; Vik. p. 87) It may be identified with

the Mandakin, a tributary of the Paisuni into which it flows near Mt. Citrakuṭa.

Daśārṇā. The Dhasan, which, rising in Bhopal, flows past Saugor into the Betwa near Orai. It cannot be identical with the Dosaron river of Ptolemy (VII. I. 37), as the mouth of that river is to be placed on the east coast.

Citrakuṭā. This is the name given to the stream of the Paisuni which flows round Mt. Citrakuṭ in Bundelkhand into the Jumna.

Tamasā. Kirfel (Bharatavarsha, p. 56) wrongly identifies this with the Tons, a branch of the Sarayu in Oudh. This cannot be correct as the Sarayu is mentioned earlier in this text as a Himalayan river. The Tons referred to here is the river, which flows near Rewa and joins the Ganges below Allahabad.

Pippalī Śyeṇī (Kirfel). Pippaliśronī (Sircar). The form and identity of this river or rivers are very uncer tain. Pargiter (Markp. (trans) p. 297) suggests it is to be identified with Paisuni or Parsaroni, a tributary of the Jumna between the Ken and the Tons. Kirfel, who reads two names follows Dey, (Geog. Dict. p. 200) in identifying Śyenī with the Ken, but this is negated by the identification of Suktimati with that river. Hence Pargiter's form and identification, though doubtful, appear preferable.

Karatoyā (Kirfel). Karamodā (Sircar). Karatoyā, if the correct reading here, cannot possibly be identified with the modern river of that name, which flows through Rangpur, Dinajpur and Bogra districts as Kirfel interprets it. Such a river cannot possibly be described as flowing from the Vindhyas. Accordingly it seems preferable to follow Sircar's text and read Karamodā, which may be identified with the modern Karamnāśa flowing into the Ganges above the Sone.

Piśāsikā. Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra (II. 11) mentions a type of pearl called Pāśikya, which according to his commentator Bhaṭṭasvāmī, is to be found in the river Pāśikā near Pāṭaliputra. Piśāsikā may be identical with this river.

Citrotpalā. The Chittuola, a branch of the Mahanadi (Dey. Geog. Dict. p. 50).

Vipāśā. This cannot be the Beas, as Kirfel intereprets it, as that river has already been mentioned as flowing from the Himalayas. Pargiter has, however, found another river Bias joining the Ken past Saugar and this is evidently the one referred to in the present context. (Mark. p. (trans), p. 297).

Vañjulā (Kirfel). Mañjulā (Sircar). Kirfel identifies with the Mañjira, a tributary of the Godāvarī but such an identification is impossible for a Vindhyan river. Pargiter associates it with the river on which Gaya stands.

Vāluvāhinī. The Bagin, a tributary of the Jumna in Bundelkhand.

Sanerujā (Kirfel). Śunī Lajjā (Sircar). As none of these variants occur elsewhere, it is impossible to determine the text here with any degree of accuracy.

Śuktimatī. The capital of the Cedis, which had the same name, is described in the Mahābhārata (MB. I. 57.32) as situated on this river. The modern Ken flowing through Bundelkhand.

Maṅkutī. (Kirfel) Śakulī. (Sircar). Sircar identifies the Śakulī with the Sakri, which flows into the Seonath, a tributary of the Mahanadi.

Tridivā. Another river of the same name is later described in these texts as flowing from the Mahendra Mt.

Kratu (Kirfel). Kramu (Sircar). Kramu cannot be identical with the Rgvedic river Krumu, as the latter is one of the rivers of the North-West. The Vāyu-purāṇa variant, kramāt (in order) may well be correct.

Rivers flowing from the Vindhyas.

Kirfel's text.

Tāpī Payoṣṇī Nirvīndhyā Kṣiprā ca Niṣadhā nadī
Veṇvā Vaitaraṇī caiva Viśvamālā Kumudvatī
Toyā caiva Mahāgaurī Durgā cAantaḥśilā tathā
Vindhyapādaprasūtās tā nadyah puṇyajalāḥ śubhāḥ.

Sircar's text.

Tāpī Payoṣṇī Nirvīndhyā Śipra ca Niṣadhāvatī
Veṇvā Vaitaraṇī caiva Śinibāhuḥ Kumudvatī

Toyā caiva Mahāgaurī Durgā cĀntaḥśilā tathā
Vindhyapādaprasūtās tā nadyaḥ puṇyajalāḥ śubhāḥ.

Tāpī. In South according to Rājaśekhara (KM. p. 93). Tapti.

Payoṣṇī. In South according to Rājaśekhara. It is also mentioned in the Mahābhārata as a river of Vidarbha (MB. 3, 120.19; 3.121.13) and in another passage of the same epic as being separated from the Narmadā by the Vaidurya Mt. Its identification, however, is the subject of controversy. Pargiter (Mark. p. (trans) p. 299) regards it as the modern Purna, a tributary of the Tapti, while Sircar considers it to be the Painganga, a tributary of the Godāvarī. Of these two identifications the former appears preferable in view of the close juxtaposition of the Purna and the Tapti and the evidence of the Mahābhārata, which clearly indicates that it was the next river to the Narmadā.

Nirvindhyā. According to Kirfel and Sircar this is the Newuj, a tributary of the Chambal, between the Betwa and Kali-sindh. This identification is based on the evidence of Kālidāsa's Meghadūta (I. 26) which places a river of this name between the Betwa and Ujjain. It would seem unlikely though that the Newuj is the river mentioned in the present context, for its position implies that it would be in the watershed of the Pāriyātra range. Pargiter's identification of it with the Painganga whose source is near Mekhar appears preferable.

Kṣiprā (Kirfel). Śiprā (Sircar). In the Mahābhārata list of rivers (6.10.28) a river Śīghrā is mentioned.

Niṣadhā. Its name naturally suggests a connection with Nishada, the kingdom of Nala. Hence one of the tributaries of the Tapti in the Satpura range.

Veṇvā. This river is mentioned in the Kūrmavibhāga texts (BS. XIV. 12) (Markp. 58.22), the Kāvyamīmāṁsā (KM. p. 93) and the Nāṭya-śāstra (13.27) as being in the South. It may be identified with the Wain-Ganga, a tributary of the Godavari.

Vaitaraṇī. Probably the river of the same name which flows through Orissa into the Bay of Bengal.

Viśvamālā. (Kirfel). Sinibahu (Sircar). The name is very uncertain.

Kumudvatī.

Toyā. The Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa reads Karatoyā. This name is well known as that of a river which flows through Dinajpur and Bogra districts of West Bengal, but would be out of place in the present context.

Mahāgaurī. In the Mahābhārata list of rivers (MB. 6.10.29 & 32) this name is closely associated with Brahmāṇī, the modern river of the same name flowing through Orissa. The Mahāgaurī may perhaps be a tributary of this river.

Durgā. Dey's (Geog. Dict. p. 58) identification of it with a tributary of the Sabarmatī in Gujarat is very doubtful as in that case it should have been placed in the Pāriyātra list of rivers. Pargiter (Markp. (trans) p. 301) takes it to be a synonym of Brahmāṇī but this also seems doubtful. In the puranic lists of peoples (Mārk p. 57. 42; Vāyup. 45.128) at ribe called Durga is mentioned as living in the West and to the south of the Narmadā and would appear to occupy the region of the modern Dangs. If the Durgā river has any connection with these Durgas, it should accordingly be placed somewhere in that area.

Antaḥśilā. This may perhaps be a river flowing through the territory of the Antargiryas, who are mentioned in the Bhuvanakośa lists (Mārkp. 57. 42; Matsyap, 114,44.; Vāyup. 45. 132) and may be identified with the Rajmahal Hills in the district of Santal Parganas.

Rivers flowing from the Sahya Mt.

Kirfel's text.

> Godāvarī Bhīmarathī Kṛṣṇaveṇī ca Vañjulā
> Tuṅgabhadrā Suprayogā Bāhyā Kāvery athāpi ca
> Dakṣiṇāpathanadyas tāḥ Sahyapādād viniḥsṛtāḥ,

Sircar reads exactly the same text except that in place of Kṛṣṇaveṇī, he has Kṛṣṇā Veṇvā.

Godāvarī. In south according to Rājaśekhara. This river, which still retains its ancient name, flows from the Western Ghats south-eastwards into the Bay of Bengal.

Bhīmarathī. In south according to Rājaśekhara. The Bhima, a tributary of the Kistna,

Kṛṣṇaveṇī. Modern Kistna and its tributary, the Veni, whose united waters flow into the Bay of Bengal.

Vañjulā. In south according to Rājaśekhara. The Manjira, a tributary of the Godāvarī.

Tuṅgabhadrā. The modern Tungabhadra, a southern tributary of the Kistna.

Suprayogā. Its identification is uncertain, but it would appear to be one of the western tributaries of the Kistna.

Vāhyā. This may be corrupt for Varadā (mod. Wardha) a tributary of the Godāvarī.

Kāverī. In south according to the Kūrmavibhāga texts and Rājaśekhara. Ptolemy (VII. I. 35) refers to it under the name of Khaberos and correctly describes it as having its source in the Adeisathron Mt. (Skt. Sahya). It may be identified with the modern river of the same name.

Rivers flowing from Malaya Mt.

Kirfel's text.

Kṛṭamāla Tāmraparṇī Puṣpajā Cotpalāvatī
Malapaprasūtā nadyaḥ tāḥ sarvāḥ śitajalāh śubhāḥ

Sircar has the same text.

Kṛṭamālā. The Vaigai, which flows past Mathurā (Dey. Geog. Dict., p. 104). Bārhaspatyas Arthaśāstra (3. 82) refers to it as Ghṛtamālā.

Tāmraparṇī. The Tambravari, which combines its stream with the Chittar in Tinnevelly District. In south according to the Kūrmavibhāga texts (BS. XIV. 16; Mārkp. 58.28) and Rājaśekhara.

Puṣpajā. Dey (Geog. Dict. p.164) identifies it with a river Pambai in Travancore. Law however (Geog. Dict. p. 185) lists a mountain Puṣpagiri, which according to epigraphic evidence is to be located 8 miles north of Cuddapeh (E. I. III. 24). It is perhaps identical with the Kusumanagaḥ of the Kūrmavibhāga texts (BS. XIV. 14), which is likewise located in the South. Hence it is possible that the Puṣpajā river may be connected with this mountain, in which case it may be identical with a tributary of the modern Pennar.

Utpalāvatī. In south according to Rājaśekhara. It is mentioned by the lexicographers (Vaij. p.37, śl.33) as flowing through

the territory of the Colas. Dey (Geog. Dict. p. 213) identifies it with the river Vypar in Tinnelly, but in view of its association with the Colas, such a location would be too far south. Accordingly it would be better to identify it with the Palar, which flows into the Bay of Bengal about 40 miles south of Madras.

Rivers flowing from the Mahendra Mt.

Kirfel's text.

Trisāmā Ṛṣikulyāś ca Ikṣukā Tridivā ca yā
Lāṅgūlinī Vaṁśadharā Mahendratanayāḥ smṛtāḥ.

Sircar has the same text.

Trisāmā. Its identity is uncertain, but it association with Mt. Mahendra would make it one of the small rivers flowing from the Eastern Ghats into the Bay of Bengal.

Ṛṣikulyā. This river which still preserves its ancient name flows into the Bay of Bengal near Berhampur in the Ganjam District of Orissa. It is in this same district that a range of hills is still called Mahendra preserving the ancient name, which was applied to most of the Eastern Ghats north of Madras by the Puranic texts.

Ikṣukā. A river Iksumatī is mentioned in the Ayodhyākāṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa (Ayodhyāk. 68), but cannot be the same as the river mentioned as it is placed in north India. Dey (Geog. Dict. p. 77) identifies it with the East Kalinadi flowing through Kumann Rohilkhand and Kanauj districts.

Tridivā. Another river of the same name has been mentioned by these texts as flowing from the Vindhya Mts.

Lāṅgūlinī, The Languliya, which flows past Chicacole into the Bay of Bengal between Vizianagaram and Kalingapatam.

Vanśadharā. This river, which still has its ancient name flows into the Bay of Bengal at Kalingapatam.

Rivers flowing from the Śuktimān Mt.

Kirfel's text.

Ṛṣikulyā Kumārī ca Mandagā Mandavāhinī
Kṛpā Palāśinī caiva Śuktimatprabhavāḥ smṛtāḥ

Sircar has the same text except that he substitutes Kūpā for Kṛpā. The most likely identification of the Śuktimān Mt. is that of H.C. Ray Chaudhuri who has identified it with the Sakti Hills exte nding from Raigarh in M.P. as far as the Dalma Hills in Manbhum District, Bihar (Studies in Ind. Ant. pp. 113-120). This location is supported by the fact that a river called Kumārī can be found in the latter district, which would correspond to the name in this section of the Puranic text.

Ṛṣikulyā. The Kiul, a tributary of the Ganges, which rises from near Rajgir, or perhaps the Koel in Chota-Nagpur.

Kumārī. The river of the same name, which flows through Manbhum in South Bihar.

Mandagā, Mandavāhinī. Neither of these rivers have yet been identified. If their names have any significance, both these rivers would be streams of sluggish movement. (Skt. manda "slow" plus ga, vāhinī "moving".

Kṛpā (Kirfel). Kūpā (Sircar). Kūpā would be a preferable reading to Kṛpā, as it may be more easily identified with the modern Kopa, a tributary of the Babla.

Palāśinī. Dey (Geog. Dict. p. 144) would identify it with the Peddair, which falls into the Bay of Bengal near Kalingapatam. Such a river would belong to the Mahendra Mt. Sircar's identification of it with the modern Paras, a tributary of the Koel, is much more probable.

A BRIEF NOTE ON THE PARĀŚARAPURĀṆA

By

N. GANGADHARAN

Introduction

The name Parāśara is well-known as one among the fourteen authorities on dharma. The name Parāśara is also associated with different branches of literaure such as *jyotiṣa*, *tantra*, and sectarian practices. It is not clear whether the different Parāśaras are one and the same. Parāśara is also known to be the father of Veda Vyāsa, the divisor of the *Vedas* and traditionally believed to be the author of the eighteen *Purāṇas*.

The *Parāśarapurāṇa* is mentioned as one among the eighteen *Upapurāṇas*, in the *Purāṇas*, *Upapurāṇas* and the *dharmanibandhas*. The late Dr. Hazra[1] has only noticed references which enumerate *Parāśarapurāṇa* as one among the *Upapurāṇas*. In the two volumes of his studies he has not included an analysis of the same. Hence a brief analysis throwing light on the nature of this *Upapurāṇa* is given here.

The following *Purāṇas*, *Upapurāṇas* and quotations in the *dharmanibandhas* enumerate *Parāśarapurāṇa* as one among the eighteen *Upapurāṇas*—*Kūrmapurāṇa*, *Skandapurāṇa*, *Garuḍapurāṇa*, *Padmapurāṇa*, *Devībhāgavata*, *Parāśarapurāṇa*, *Bṛhaddharmapurāṇa*, *Vāruṇopapurāṇa*, *Ekāmrapurāṇa*, *Revāmāhātmya* claiming to be part of the *Vāyupurāṇa*, *Nityācārapradīpa*, Raghunandana's *Malamāsatattva*, Mitramiśra's *Vīramitrodaya* (*Paribhāṣaprakāśa*), *Caturvargacintāmaṇi*, and Madhusūdana Sarasvati's *Prasthānabheda*. The *Upapurāṇa* is referred to in these places as *Parāśaraprokta*, *Parāśarapurāṇa*, *Parāśaraupapurāṇa*, *Parāśarokta Upapurāṇa* and *Pārāśarya*. It is clear from the references here as पराशरोक्तमपरं that it is distinguished from the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* which was also spoken by *Parāśara*.[2]

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1. Studies in the Upapurāṇas, Vol. I. pp. 4-11.
2. See Hazra, *loc. cit.*

The *Parāśarapurāṇa* itself reads as follows :

अन्यान्युपपुराणानि चक्रुः सारतराणि ये ।
आद्यं सनत्कुमारोक्तं नारसिंहं ततः परम् ॥
नन्दाख्यं शिवधर्माख्यं दीर्घाभं नारदीयकम् ।
कापिलं मानवं चैव तथा चोशनसेरितम् ॥
ब्रह्माण्डं वारुणं कालीपुराणाख्यं तथैव च ।
वासिष्ठं लैङ्गसंज्ञं च साम्बं सौरं तथैव च ॥
पराशरसमाख्यं च मारीचं भार्गवाह्वयम् ।
पराशरसमाख्यं तु पुराणमिदमुत्तमम् ॥

The Origin of the Purāṇa :

The *Parāśarapurāṇa*,[3] *Kūrmapurāṇa*[4] and the *Śivāmāhātmyakhaṇḍa*[5] of the *Sūtasaṁhitā* of the *Skandapurāṇa* record a tradition that the sages proclaimed the *Upapurāṇas* after listening to the eighteen *Purāṇas* from Vyāsa. This tradition has been accepted by the *nibandha* writers also. This verse from the *Kūrmapurāṇa* has been quoted in the *Nityācārapradīpa* (I. p. 19) and *Vīramitrodaya.* Although we may discredit this tradition the *Purāṇas* still would be considered as fairly old as it has been referred to as an *Upapurāṇa* in most of the *Upapurāṇas* as well as the *Purāṇas.*

Moreover there are as many as fifty manuscripts of this *Purāṇas* which have been noticed in the New Catalogus Catalogorum.[6]

Definition of the Upapurāṇa and the position of Parāśarapurāṇa in the light of the Definition :

As in the case of most of the *Purāṇas* which do not satisfy the *Pañcalakṣaṇa* definition given in the *Amarakośa,* most of the *Upapurāṇas* also do not contain the five characteristics pointed out in the *Brahmavaivartapurāṇa* as applicable to the *Upapurāṇas.* As such the *Amarakośa* gives only the definition for a *Purāṇa.* But

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3. एवं आज्ञापितास्तेन शिवेन मुनयः पुरा ।
श्रुत्वा सत्यवतीसूनोः पुराणं सकलं मुदा ॥
अन्यान्युपपुराणानि चक्रुः सारतराणि वै । 1.27-28a

4. अन्यान्युपपुराणानि मुनिभिः कथितानि तु ।
अष्टादशपुराणानि श्रुत्वा संक्षेपतो द्विजाः ॥ 1.1.16.

5. अष्टादशपुराणानि श्रुत्वा सत्यवतीसुतात् ।
अन्यान्युपपुराणानि मुनिभिः कथितानि तु ॥ 1.12b-13a

6. Vol. XI. (nearing completion). pp. 208b–209a.

Brahmavaivartapurāṇa[7] modifies the definition and points out that the definition is applicable for the *Upapurāṇa*.

The Extent of the Purāṇa :

The concluding verse of the *Purāṇa* states that it has eighteen chapters and contains 1008 verses which seems to reckon correctly.

अष्टोत्तरसहस्रेण श्लोकेनैव विनिर्मितम् ।
इदमष्टादशाध्यायैः शिवोऽत्रैव च दर्शितः ॥

The Nature of this Purāṇa :

The opening and concluding verses of this *Purāṇa* indicate the Śaivite characteristic of this *Purāṇa*. The *Purāṇa* opens with the verse :

सौरमण्डलमध्यस्थं साम्बं संसारभेषजम् ।
नीलग्रीवं विरूपाक्षं नमामि शिवमव्ययम् ॥

The manuscript[8] in the Mysore Oriental Institute begins with the following additional lines—

भवपाशेन बद्धानां भवपाशविमोचनम् ।
ऐश्वर्याद्यन्तनिर्मुक्तं अति ꣽ शोभमादरात् ।
नमामि विग्रहं साम्बं संसारार्तिसुभेषजम् ॥

The following introductory verses refer to the obeisance made by the sages to Lord Śiva and his consort who manifested in front of them :

अस्मिन्नवसरे श्रीमान् महाकारुणिकोत्तमः ।
महादेवो महादेव्या सह संनिहितोऽभवत् ॥
तं दृष्ट्वा देवदेवेशं त्रिनेत्रं चन्द्रशेखरम् ।
प्रणम्य मुनयः सर्वे दण्डवत्पृथिवीतले ॥
प्रदक्षिणत्रयं कृत्वा प्रपूज्य परमेश्वरम् ।
तुष्टुवुर्हृष्टमनसो विस्मिता विवशाः शुक ॥
शिवाय सत्यविज्ञानमहानन्दस्वरूपिणे ।
स्वविलक्षणहीनाय स्वयंवेद्याय ते नमः ॥
स्वात्मभूतमहामायाशक्तिवैभवसाक्षिणे ।
स्रष्ट्रे भर्त्रे त्र संहर्त्रे सर्वस्य जगतः सदा ॥

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7. सर्गश्च प्रतिसर्गश्च वंशो मन्वन्तराणि च ।
वंशानुचरितं चैव पुराणं पञ्चलक्षणम् ॥
महतां च पुराणानां लक्षणं कथयामि ते । IV. 133. 6-7.

8. Mysore Government Oriental manuscripts Library New Descriptive Catalogue vol. VI. 17586. Extr. p. 22b.

The concluding verses also express obeisance to Lord Śiva and his consort.

नमो रुद्राय देवाय स्वतन्त्रायाखिलात्मने ।
प्रधानपुरुषेशाय जगत्सर्गादिहेतवे ।।
या विभाति सदा साक्षी स्वरूपेण स्वभावतः ।
तां नमाम्यादरेणैव शिवामानन्ददायिनीम् ।।

Moreover chapters 16-17 are devoted to the mode of worship of Lord Śiva.

The Contents of this Purāṇa :

The contents of the eighteen chapters of this *Purāṇa* may be briefly pointed out as follows : The first chapter is of the nature of an introduction and describes the *Upapurāṇas* in general. The second chapter describes the origin of the universe. The third one deals with the relative importance of the various objects of creation. The fourth one describes the signs of the *devatās*. The fifth chapter deals with the purport of the *Vedas*. The next one explains the most secret principle. The subsequent one describes the greatness of the brahmins. The eighth chapter again explains the purport of the *Vedas*. The subsequent chapter describes the daily rites beneficial for the entire world. The next chapter deals with the prohibited practices. The chapter that follows gives an account of those who did sinful deeds. The succeeding chapter describes the forbidden food. Chapters thirteen to fifteen deal with expiations for various offences. The next two chapters explain the rules for the worship of Lord Śiva. The concluding chapter gives exposition of the purport of the *śāstras*.

There is a commentary by Appayācārya on the eighteenth chapter alone.[9]

Conclusion

From the foregoing account a fair knowledge about the nature and contents of the *Parāśarapurāṇa* is obtained. A critical edition and analysis of the *Purāṇa* is under preparation which would be submitted to the scholarly world in course of time.

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9. Mysore I. pp. 164.560. Mysore D. III. 412-13.

MATSYA PURĀṆA AND EARLY MEDIEVAL TEMPLE ARCHITECTURE*

By

TAHSILDAR SINGH

AND

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Well-modelled on the guidelines of traditional definition of a Purāṇa and similar to some other Mahāpurāṇas, namely, the Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa, the Vāyu-Purāṇa, the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa, the Kūrma-Purāṇa, the Bhāgavata-Purāṇa and the Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa, Matsya-Purāṇa is also a kaleidoscope illustrating varicoloured aspects of Hindu culture and civilization. It consists of 290 chapters[1] dealing with various subjects in an encyclopaedic manner. Besides the five original topics of Purāṇas, namely, *sarga* (creation), pratisarga (dissolution or re-creation), *vaṁśa* (genealogy of gods or sages or earthly kings), *manvantaras* (cosmic cycles) and *vaṁśānucarita* (accounts of the deeds of royal dynasties), Matsya also includes chapters on *varṇāśramadharma* (four-fold division of society and individual's life), *vratas* (vows), *sadācāra* (ethics), *rājadharma* (polity), *śrāddha* (funeral rituals), *tīrthas* (pilgrimages), *dānas* (gifts), *prāyaścittas* (contritions), *devapūjana* (worship of gods), *dīkṣā* (initiation), *pratiṣṭhā* (consecration), *vāstuvidyā* (science of architecture) and *prāsāda-lakṣaṇa* (characteristics of temples) etc. The *pratiṣṭhā* and *vāstuvidyā*, either secular or sacred, were being incorporated in many religious scriptures from the time of Bṛhatsaṁhitā.[2] Though the source of the architectural material of Bṛhatsaṁhitā is still not specified, the author of this astronomical work himself acknowledges that this matter is indebted

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* The edition utilised for reference is edited and published by Sri Jivanand Vidyasagar Bhattacharya, from Calcutta (1876). The Matsya-Purāṇa is referred to hereinafter as 'Matsya'.

1. The edition used here comprises 290 chapters although according to some other sources this number is 291. See, Agrawala, V. S., *Matsya Purāṇa—A study*, All India Kashiraj Trust, Ramnagar, Varanasi, 1963.

2. Battacharya, T.P., *The Canons of Indian Art*, Calcutta, 1963, p. 135.

to his preceptors like Garga, Manu etc.[3] In the same tradition, most probably, Matsya also borrowed the material from earlier sources while it got its original shape transformed in consonance with the tradition of *upabṛṁhaṇa* (augmenting), re-editing and revising of Purāṇas. These revisions and incorporations were made in view of the changes in society so that importance of these encyclopaedia-like scriptures might not decrease and they might be established as authentic works of knowledge.

Date of composition

Matsya is one of the three oldest Purāṇas, the two others being Brahmāṇḍa and Vāyu.[4] The learned analytical disquisitions of many scholars provide us an anchor in the labyrinthine bulk of Matsya, a store-house of knowledge. F. E. Pargiter places Matsya (particularly the beginning of its composition) in the latter part of the second century A. D.,[5] while R. C. Hazra ascribes its first compilation to the last quarter of the third or the first quarter of fourth century A. D.[6] Prof P. V. Kane opines that Matsya cannot be later than the 6th century A. D.[7] Thus we can comfortably conclude that the compilation of Matsya started in the Gupta period. Hence the original chapters particularly dealing with the *pañcalakṣaṇa*-portion may be dated from the Gupta period, i. e., c. 320-550 A. D. But as the *upabṛṁhaṇa* continued upto the formation of the extant shape, it assimilated variegated subjects from the succeeding periods of history, at least upto c. 1100 A. D.[8]

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3. *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* of Varāhamihira, ch. 56, v. 31, Chowkhambha Vidya Bhavan, Chowk, Varanasi, 1959, p. 386. For date of Bṛhatsaṁhitā, see Singh, Tahsildar, Bhaviṣya Purāṇa and Bṛhatsaṁhitā on Temple Architecture : A collative study, *Purāṇa*, Varanasi (1981) vol. XXIII, p. 65.
4. See Agrawala, V. S., *Matsya Purāṇa—A study*, preface, p. III.
5. Pargiter, F. E., *The Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*, Chowkhambha Sanskrit Series Office, Varanasi, 1962, p. xii.
6. Hazra, R. C., *Studies in the Puraṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs*, Dacca, 1940, pp. 26 ff.
7. Kane, P. V., *History of Dharmaśāstras*, vol. IV, chronological table p. X, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, 1953.
8. See Hazra, *Purāṇic Records*, pp. 176-177.

That the Purāṇa was revised frequently is explicitly accepted in chapter 53 itself.[9]

As far as the architectural material of the Matsya is concerned it was, again, not written during a short span or at a certain point of time. It has at least two stages, neither of which, most probably, dates from the Gupta period as some scholars believe.[10] Though a considerable part of the extant Matsya was written in the Gupta period, it is also crystal-clear that a lot of details were interpolated later on. However, if the comprehensive description of a king named Pramati surprisingly tallies with that of Candragupta II Vikramāditya (382-415 A. D) of the Imperial Gupta dynasty, it can not be inferred that the architectural details also belong to the Gupta Age. It represents an advanced stage of temple architecture quite in contrast with that of the early Gupta period which was the initial stage of lithic and structural (excepting the rock-hewn caves) houses of gods (*devālayas*). The temples of this period exhibit a simple plan, lucid diction and restrained decoration stamping the impression of a primitive and rudimentary style.[11] Thus, Matsya deals with the temple architecture dating from later than the Gupta age and earlier than 1100 A. D., the approximate date of its last revision. It seems that chapters on *vāstuvidyā* were written in the early medieval period (c. 9th-10th cent. A. D.), keeping in view the preceding architectural traditions established by the earlier works and the contemporary architectural methods, styles and patterns and shapes constituting the temples.

Vāstuvidyā : architectural contents

Matsya contains sizable material pertaining to architecture and sculpture.[12] A synoptic list of chapters devoted to architecture, iconography and iconometry is as follows :—

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9. Matsya, ch. 53. v. 8.
10. See Banerjee, Manabendu, "Matsya Purāṇa Chapters on Indian Architecture and Sculpture", *Purāṇa*, vol. XXI, pp. 64 ff; Acharya, P. K., *Indian Architecture According to Mānasāra Śilpaśāstra*, Calcutta, 1927, pp. 194 ff: Bhattacharya, Tarapada, *The Canons of Indian Art*, p. 133.
11. Singh, Tahsildar, *The Evolution of Sculptural Embellishment in North Indian Temples* (*c.* 400-1000 *A.D.*). (Ph. D. Dissertation, Avadh University, 1980) p. 24.
12. Matsya, chs. 251-269.

Chapters	*Subjects*
251 *vāstu-prādurbhāva*	The eighteen preceding authors of *Vāstu-śāstras* and the birth of Vāstudeva.
252 (*gṛha-kāla-vinirṇaya*)	the influence of different months and asterisms on the construction of houses and methods of erecting residential buildings.
253 (*gṛha-māna-nirṇaya*)	the various types of residential edifices.
254 (*stambha-mānavinir-ṇaya*)	the five types of pillars and the influence of *vedha*.
255 (*vāstu-yajña*)	the auspicious and inauspicious points and omens affecting the erection of a house.
256 (*dārvāharaṇa*)	the types of wood and the methods of cutting it.
257 (*kriyā-yoga-vidhi*)	the measurements of the limbs of the images of several deities.
258 (*pratimā-lakṣaṇa*)	the details, proportions and attributes of icons of several divinities.
259 (*pratimā-lakṣaṇa*)	the continuation of the description above, (some other gods).
260 (*pratimā lakṣaṇa*)	the continuation of the description above, (some more gods)
261 (*pīṭhikā-lakṣaṇa*)	the description of pedestals.
262 (*liṅga-lakṣaṇa*)	the distinctive features and varieties of *liṅga* with proper dimensions.
263 (*pratiṣṭhānukīrtana*)	the consecration of icons.
264 (*adhivāsana-vidhi*)	the installation of icons.
265 (*mūrti-pratiṣṭhā-vidhi*)	the continuation of the aforementioned subject.
266 (*devasnāpana*)	the anointing ceremony of the deity.
267 (*prāsāda-vidhi*)	the temple architecture, particularly the method of pacification ceremony of the Vāstupuruṣa (or *vāstudoṣopaśamana*)
268 (*prāsādānukīrtana*)	the varieties, names and characteristics of *prāsādas*, (or *prāsādalakṣaṇa*).
269 (*maṇḍapa-lakṣaṇa*)	the various names of *maṇḍapas* (halls) with their distinctive features.

If this whole matter[13] is discussed here it will, very easily, become a monograph of fifty pages. Therefore, it is proposed to discuss comprehensively the matter related to *prāsāda-vidhi*, i. e., temple architecture. But before discussing it let us clear our horizon relating to the date and the parent source of the matter appertaining to temple architecture borrowed by Matsya from anywhere else. The borrowing can be traced and perceived after a scrutiny of some other texts comprising similar architectural material.

Matsya and Some Other Texts : comparative analysis

Interestingly, there are some other texts, namely Bṛhatsaṁhitā, Bhaviṣya-Purāṇa, Viśvakarmāprakāsa, Vāstu-tilaka, Agni and Garuḍa Purāṇas and Mānasāra which share, apparently, something common with Matsya. I have elsewhere[14] discussed that Bhaviṣya Purāṇa is a late work borrowing details of temple architecture directly from Bṛhatsaṁhitā introducing certain negligible changes and considerable additions to describe the construction of a Sūrya temple (*bhavanaṁ raveḥ*). Therefore, Bhaviṣya Purāṇa can only be a borrower from, not a lender to, Matsya.

The Bṛhatsaṁhitā, of course, has lent to Matsya something very concrete. The twenty types of temples are borrowed from Bṛhatsaṁhitā. Thus the first stratum of architectural material in Matsya is borrowed from Bṛhatsaṁhitā. This interpolation in Matsya occurred, probably, during the post-Gupta period (c. 650 A.D.), while the second stratum seems to have been incorporated in the early medieval period.

The Viśvakarmāprakāśa, as available now, is a later recension written by Vāsudeva, of the actual work of a Viśvakarmā. As the

13. The titles of the chapters are not given in Jivanand edition utilised here but these synoptic titles are on the basis of Agrawala, V.S., *Matsya Purāṇa—A Study*, pp. 342 ff.; Kantawala, S.G., *Cultural History from the Matsya Purāṇa*, Baroda, 1964, pp. 288. ff.; Akhtar, Jamna Das, (edited), *The Matsya Puranam*, Delhi, 972, pp. 291 ff. and Tripathi, Ram Pratap, *Matsya Mahāpurāṇa* (in Hindi) Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, Prayag, V. Samvat 2003/1946 A. D., pp. 675 ff. One thing is again to be kept in mind here that Jivanand edition most of all others consist of 291 and not 290 chapters.

14. See Singh, Tahsildar, "Bhaviṣya Purāṇa and Bṛhatsaṁhitā" *Purāṇa*, vol. XXIII, p. 65 ff.

quotations from Garga's work found in the commentary of Bhaṭṭotpala are also exactly similar to those in Matsya and Bṛhatsaṁhitā its last date of revision may be the 10th cent. A. D. The date of Bhaṭṭotpala is generally believed to be c. 965-67 A. D.[15] Thus the twenty types of temples found in Viśvakarmāprakāśa are borrowed from Bṛhatsaṁhitā. Now, although the source of the description of 27 types of *maṇḍapas* found in Matsya and Viśvakarmāprakāśa is hard to trace, one thing is obvious that either of these is indebted to the other and both are contemporaneous. Thus, the description of *maṇḍapas*, the second stratum of the architectural wealth in Matsya is comfortably datable to c. 9th-10th century A. D.

The description of the types of pillars in the Vāstutilaka[16] (c. 7th cent.) is more descriptive and developed than that of Matsya.[17] Matsya has only five whereas Vāstutilaka exhibits at least seven varieties of pillars.[18] Hence, Matsya's description of pillars belongs to the first stratum and Matsya is a precursor of Vāstutilaka in this regard.

The Agni and Garuḍa Purāṇa have 45 types of temples divided into five broad categories[19] which are certainly of a developed stage in comparison to that of Bṛhatsaṁhitā. In spite of this fact they do not contain the chapter on *maṇḍapa-lakṣaṇa*. Matsya has the detailed description of 27 types of *maṇḍapas*.[20] Thus, it seems doubtless, that this second stratum of architectural material of Matsya is later than the date of the Agni and Garuḍa Purāṇas.

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15. Bhattacarya, Tarapada, *The Canons of Indian Art.*, pp.132ff.
16. *Vāstutilaka*, *Paricchada* VIII, "*Stambhādi-Lakṣaṇam*". For date of Vāstutilaka see, Dhaky, M. A., "The Genesis and Development of Māru-Garjara Temple Architecture", in Pramod Chandra, (edited), *Studies in Indian Temple Architecture*, New Delhi, 1975 p. 127, Prof. Dhaky and Somapura, P. O. are editing Vāstutilaka.
17. *Matsya*, ch. 254, "*Stambha-Māna-Vinirṇaya*".
18. In the place of Matsya's Rucaka, Vajra, Dvivajra, Pralinaka and Vṛtta, Vāstutilaka has Rucaka, Vajra, Ativajra, Pralinaka, Matha, Manmatha and Miśraka pillars. *Pariccheda* VIII, *ślokas* 1-5.
19. See Singh, Tahsildar, "An Appraisal of the Data regarding Temple Architecture Gleaned from Agni Purāṇa", *Purāṇa*, vol. XXIII, pp. 196 ff.
20. *Matsya*, ch. 254.

Although P. K. Acharya, while deciding the position of the Mānasāra in literature[21] places Mānasāra before Matsya Purāṇa, some other authorities on Indian architecture treat Mānasāra as a very late text. M. A. Dhaky dates it in c. 16th-17th cent. A. D. Anyway, Acharya has shown that Matsya and Mānasāra share many things in common.[22] So, I propose here to infer that Matsya lent the condensed traditional architectural matter to Mānasāra which expounded it with the help of other texts, traditions and current styles in an independent architectural treatise, a *śilpaśāstra*.[23]

Thus, we can easily deduce that Matsya is on one hand a borrower from Bṛhatsaṁhitā, a work of the proper Gupta period, and on the other hand a lender to the Vāstutilaka, the Agni and Garuḍa Purāṇas and even the Mānasāra, a quite late work.

Glossary of Sanskrit terms

An exhaustive list of Sanskrit terms, with their possible English equivalent translation, is given below :—

abhaya	a hand posture, blessing fearlessness.
āmalasāraka	a ribbed member of pinnacle, symbolising an '*āmalaka*' just below the finial.
akṣasūtra	rosary.
aṇḍaka	an *āmalaka* or *śṛṅga* (spire).
aṅkuśa	a hook-like weapon wielded by some divinities as an attribute.
ardhendu	crescent.
aṣṭabhūmika	eight storeyed shrine.
aṣṭakoṇa	octagonal.
aṣṭāsra	octagonal, also *aṣṭakoṇa*.
āyata	rectangular, sometimes the sanctum.
bhadra	projection.
bhitti	wall.
bhūmi	storey.

21. Acharya, P. K., *Indian Architecture according to Mānasāra Śilpaśāstra*, p. 111 ff.
22. *Ibid.*, pp. 163 ff.
23. Prof. Dhaky told me in an informal discussion that Mānasāra is datable to c. 16th-17th cent. A. D. The deduction of Acharya is unfortunately untenable.

candraśālā	a decorative arched niche; false dormer window.
catuṣkoṇa	quardrangle.
dhvajā	banner.
dviraṣṭaka	sixteen-sided, also *ṣoḍaśāsra*.
garbha (gṛha)	sanctum.
ghaṇṭā	bell.
jaṅghā	wall, particularly the portion embellished with sculptures.
kamaṇḍalu	water-jar used by hermits and gods.
kanaka (karṇaka ?)	corner, also *karṇa*.
kaṇṭha	constriction below the finial of the superstructure, a moulding.
kapola (kapāla)	projection, also *bhadra*.
kapota	roll cornice, a moulding.
karṇa	corner.
kaṭi.	literally "hip" used to mean the decorated part of a well also called *jaṅghā*.
kūpa	well.
maṇḍapa	hall.
mañjarī	small spire, generally erected above a miniature shrine.
mukhamaṇḍapa	entrance porch, also *prāggrīva*.
mukuṭa	crown.
navabhūmika	nine-storeyed shrine.
nemi	periphery of the platform around the sanctum, the open place for *pradakṣiṇā*.
nirgama	projection, also *bhadra*.
padmakumbha	pillar capital, generally decorated by pot-foliage motif.
pañcabhūmika	five-storeyed shrine.
parivārālaya	sub-shrines surrounding the main temple.
patravallī	scroll motif.
pīṭhikā	pedestal.
pradakṣiṇā	circumambulatory (path) around the sanctum.
prāggrīva	entrance porch.
prāsāda	edifice, temple.
puṣpavāṭikā	garden of flowers.
ratha (rathāṅka)	projection on walls decorated with sculptures.

śākhā	vertical ornamental fillet of a doorjamb.
śikhara	superstructure.
ṣoḍaśāsra	sixteen-sided.
stambha	pillar.
śukanāsa	antefix attached to the front facade of a spire comprising large *candraśālā*.
suragṛha	house of god, temple.
suṣira	perforated part like a latticed window.
toraṇa	gateway.
trikoṇa	triangular.
tulā	architrave.
udumbara	door-sill.
uptulā	a horizontal stone slab superposing the architrave.
varada	a hand-posture for gifting boons.
utpala	blue lotus.
vātanirgama	ventilator.
vedībandha	decorated and moulded basement.
vedikā	a balcony; railing.
vidyādhara	celestial being, angel.
vṛtta	circle, circular.

As mentioned above, Matsya's chapter 268 is devoted to *prāsādavidhi.* It consists of the general characteristics of temples, their classification and details of their plan, elevation and embellishment.

General Features : ground plan and elevation

After pacifying the Vāstudeva, by sacrificial ceremony and offering, the *vāstu* (selected plot) should be divided into sixteen parts. Out of these, the four central *bhāgas* (parts) should be used for the creation of *garbhagṛha* and the remaining twelve *bhāgas* should consist of the walls. The height of *bhittis* should be equal to the length of these four parts. The height of *śikhara* should be double of that of *bhittis*. The width of *pradakṣiṇā* should be commensurate with the one-fourth of the height of the *śikhara*. The *maṇḍapa* attached to the *garbhagṛha* should be equal to the latter. The *bhadras* on three sides of the *āyata* i.e. sanctum should be three-fifth of the *garbhagṛha*; it means, *bhadra* should be equal to one-fifth of the sanctum. The *prāggrīva* also should be erected on an area measuring one-tenth of the *garbhagṛha*. The *mukhamaṇḍapa* should

be commensurate with the dimensions of the *garbhagṛha*.[24] It may be half of the *garbhagṛha.*

Some Distinct Varieties

Describing the general characteristic and instructions for preparing the groundplan of temples, Matsya also provides some other proportions for three distinct types of temples. They are given below along with abridged descriptions.

(i) Liṅgamāna Prāsāda

The *māna* (scale) of this type of temple is the *liṅga* or the image enshrined inside. The height of the *liṅga* or image should be equal to its *pīṭhikā*. The height of walls should be thrice of that of the *liṅga* or image. The width of the sanctum should be two-thirds of its own height. The height of *śikhara* should be double of that of *bhittis* and the width of *pradakṣiṇā* a quarter of that of *śikhara*. The width of the *maṇḍapa*, in front of *garbhagṛha*, should be double of that of the latter. The width of the *mukhamaṇḍapa* should be half of that of the *maṇḍapa* or equal to the *garbhagṛha*. The *kapālas*[25] should be projecting forward commensurating with the *garbhagṛha*. On the *bhittis* of these *kapālas* or *kapilīs* should be constructed the *mañjarī* and the *śukanāsa*, the latter measuring half of the former. Above the *mañjarī*, the *vedī* (the quadrangular spot on the *śikhara* below the finial) should be erected. The remaining portion over the *vedī* is occupied by *kaṇṭha* and *āmalasāraka*.[26]

(ii) Garbhamāna Prāsāda

According to this method, the area of *garbhagṛha* should be divided into nine equal squares. The *liṅga* or the image should be installed in the centre. The remaining eight *padas* (squares) around it should be utilized for the erection of *bhittis*. The height of *bhittis* should be equal to the width of five *padas*. The width of the *garbhagṛha* should measure three of these *padas*. The thickness of *bhittis* will be equal to that of one *pada*. The height of *śikhara* should be

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24. See *Matsya*, 268. 1-6, also *Agni-Purāṇa*, 42. 1-7; *Garuḍa Purāṇa*, I, 47. 6-10 and *Viśvakarmāprakāśa*, Matri Prasad Pandey, (edited), Varanasi, 1937, VI. 56-81.

25. This word *kapāla* seems to be *kapilī*, the passage (*antarāla*) situated between *garbhagṛha* and *maṇḍapa* and surmounted by the *śukanāsa*.

26. *Matsya.*, 268. 7-13. See also *Viśvakarmāprakāśa*, VI. 56-81; *Garuḍa-Purāṇa* I, 47. 11-13 and *Agni-Purāṇa* 42. 9-22.

commensurate with the double of that of *bhitti* or ten times that of a *pada*. The *śukanāsa* will measure the half or two-fourths of the *śikhara*. The *śikhara* should be divided into four parts. The lower two will be covered by the *śukanāsa*. The third should create the *vedikā*. The fourth should be embellished with *kaṇṭha* and *āmalasāraka*. The *kapāla* should be double of the *pada*. It should be decorated with *patravallīs* and surmounted by *aṇḍakas*.[27]

(iii) **Kṣetramāna Prāsāda**

In another type of temple the area of the place where the tutelary deity is enshrined should be divided into three equal parts. One of these should be taken as the scale. One part should be covered with *rathāṅkas*. The two parts should provide the width of the *garbhagṛha*. The height of the *bhitti* should be equal to the width of the *garbhagṛha* and that of the *śikhara* the double of it. The *nemi* should be left around the *garbhagṛha*. The *prāggrīva* should measure one-fifth of four times a part's length. In the third part of *prāggrīva* the *suṣira* is to be constructed. The *karṇas* of the *prāsāda* should be erected, beside the *dvāra*, at the ends of the *garbhagṛha*.[28]

Classification : nomenclature and embellishment

After this abridged description Matsya presents a list of twenty types of temples. The same list is found in Bṛhatsaṁhitā, Viśvakarmāprakāśa, and Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra, with minor changes. These types are supposed to be the earliest ones. Stella Kramrisch appears to be very right when she says that 'the twenty temples form the nucleus of a development of each variety and its ramifications. These represent a liberal assortment of architectural shapes. A selection was made and five basic shapes were to ramify in the several schools of medieval architecture'.[29] A comparative table is given below :

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27. *Matsya* 268. 14-20.
28. *Matsya* 268. 21-25. See also *Garuḍa-Purāṇa* I. 47. 17-18 and Singh, Tahsildar, "Some Reflections on Temple Architecture from Garuḍa-Purāṇa", *Purāṇa*, vol. XXII, (1980) p. 184.
29. Kramrisch, Stella, *The Hindu Temple*, Calcutta, 1964, vol. I, pp. 275-76.

Bṛhatsaṁhitā	Matsya	Viśvakarmāprakāśa	Samasāṅgaṇa-sūtradhāra.[30]
Meru	Meru	Meru	Meru
Mandara	Mandara	Mandara	Mandara
Kailāśa	Kailāśa	Kailāśa	Kailāśa
Vimāna	Vimānacchanda	Vimānacchanda	Vimānacchanda
Nandana	Nandana	Nandana	Nandana
Samudgaka	Samudgaka	Samudraka	Samudra
Padma	Padma	Padmaka	Padmaka
Garuḍa	Garuḍa (Suvarṇeśa)	Suparṇa	Garuḍa
Nandī	Nandivardhana	Nandivardhana	Nandivardhana
Kuñjara	Gaja	Gaja	Gaja
Guharāja	Mṛga	Mṛgarāja	Mṛgarāja
Vṛṣa	Vṛṣa	Vṛṣa	Vṛṣa
Haṁsa	Haṁsa	Haṁsa	Haṁsa
Gaṭa	Kumbha	Kumbha	Kumbha
Sarvatobhadra	Sarvatobhadra	Sarvatobhadra	Sarvatobhadra
Siṁha	Siṁha	Siṁha	Siṁha
Vṛtta	Vartula	Vartula	Vartula
Catuṣkoṇa	Caturasra	Caturasra	Rucaka
Aṣṭāsri	Aṣṭāsra	Aṣṭāsra	Aṣṭāsri
Ṣoḍaśāsri	Ṣoḍaśāsra	Ṣoḍaśāsra	Ṣoḍaśāsri

The details regarding embellishment and proportionate measurements of every type are given in two steps—the first dealing with various parts and decorative divisions[31] and second, the dimensions.[32] The temples can be made of bricks, wood or stone.[33] The temple and type-wise description is as follows :

30. For the list of names consult, Gaṇapatiśāstrī, T. and Agrawala V. S. (edited) *Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra*, (of Maharaja Bhoja), Oriental Institute of Baroda, 1966, ch. 63. 1 3, p.490; and Shukla, D.N., *Vāstuśāstra Hindu Science of Architecture*, Lucknow, 1961, vol. I, p. 450.
31. *Matsya.*, 268. 31-45.
32. *Ibid.*, 47-51.
33. *Ibid.*, 46.

1. *Meru*—It is erected with hundreds of *śṛṅgas*, four *dvāras*, sixteen *bhūmis* and variegated *śikharas*. It should be 50 cubits (*hastas*) in extent.
2. *Mandara*—It has twelve *bhūmis*. Its extent is 45 *hastas*.
3. *Kailāśa*—It consists of nine *bhūmis*. Its extent should be forty *hastas*.
4. *Vimānacchanda*—It should be similar to Kailāśa with eight *bhūmis* and many *śikharas*. Its extent is 34 cubits.
5. *Nandivardhana*—It may comprise seven *bhūmis*. Its extent is thirty-two *hastas*.
6. *Nandana*—Its summit should be similar to horns (*viṣāṇaka*). Its extent is thirty cubits. As the descending order follows it might have six *bhūmis*.
7. *Sarvatobhadra*—It consists of sixteen sides, many *śikharas*, *citraśālā* and five *bhūmis*. Its extent is thirty cubits.
8. *Vṛṣa*—It should be without sides, i. e., circular. Its height will be similar to the Valabhīcchandaka *prāsāda*. Its extent is four cubits (internally). It will have five *aṇḍas* and two *bhūmis*.
9. *Siṁha*—Its shape is similar to a *siṁha*, i. e., lion. Its extent is sixteen *hastas*.
10. *Gaja*—Its shape is similar to a *gaja*, i. e., elephant. Its extent is sixteen *hastas*. It has many *candraśālās*
11. *Kumbha*—Its shape symbolises a *kumbha*, i. e., pitcher. Its extent is sixteen *hastas*.
12. *Samudgaka*—It is sixteen-sided. It consists of *candraśālās* and two *bhūmis*. It is ornamented with five *aṇḍakas*.
13. *Padmaka*—It is similar to Samudgaka. It has three *bhūmis* and beautiful *śikhara*. Its extent is twenty cubits.
14. *Garuḍa*—It is composed of seven *bhūmis* and it has three *candraśālās*. Another type of Garuḍa-*prāsāda* has ten or twelve *bhūmis* and sixteen sides. Its extent is eight cubits.
15. *Mṛgarāja*—It will be decorated with *candraśālās*, big *prāggrīva* and six *bhūmis*. It has sixteen sides.
16. *Haṁsa*—Adorned with *candraśālā* and *prāggrīva*, this will be like Siṁha-*prāsāda*, mentioned above.

17. *Vartula*—This *prāsāda* also will be similar to Siṁha and Haṁsa but its extent is given as twenty cubits.

18-20. *Caturasra, Aṣṭāsra and Ṣoḍaśāsra.* All these will be similar to Siṁha-*prāsāda.*

Matsya says that seven *prāsādas* from Meru to Sarvatobhadra are considered to be *jyeṣṭha* (high), the eight from Vṛṣa to Mṛgarāja are *madhyama* (medium) and the five from Haṁsa to Ṣoḍaśāsra are *kaniṣṭha* (low) ones.

It also prescribes that in Valabhīcchandaka *prāsāda* there should be consecrated an image of Gaurī wearing *jaṭā-mukuṭa* (crown of matted hair-locks) with *varada* and *abhaya* postures of hands and wielding *akṣasūtra* and *kamaṇḍalu.* The goddess may be also enshrined with Lord Śiva and holding *utpala* and *aṅkuśa* with *varada* and *abhaya* postures. She may be bedecked with a red crown (*raktamukuṭa*).[34] This pattern of consecration reminds us of several temples of Northern India with *Valabhīśikhara* and consecrated to Śākta sect, e. g., Telī-kā-mandir, Gwalior (c. mid. 8th cent A.D.).

Maṇḍapas

Matsya devotes a complete chapter to the description of *maṇḍapas* to be erected in accordance with the shape of the temples.[35] Their three broad categories are *jyeṣṭha* (high) *madhyama* (medium) and *kaniṣṭha* (low). They are of twenty-seven kinds. They are enlisted below :

Name of maṇḍapa	*number of pillars*
1. *Puṣpaka*	64
2. *Puṣpabhadra*	62
3. *Suvrata*	60
4. *Amṛtanandana*	58
5. *Kauśalya*	56
6. *Buddhisaṁkīraṇa*	54
7. *Gajabhadra*	52
8. *Jayāvaha*	50
9. *Śrīvatsa*	48
10. *Vijaya*	46
11. *Vāstukīrti*	44

34. *Ibid.*, 54-56.
35. *Ibid.*, 269.1-36.
36. *Ibid.*, 254.1-4.

Name of maṇḍapa	*Number of pillars*
12. *Śrutiñjaya*	42
13. *Yajñabhadra*	40
14. *Viśāla*	38
15. *Suśliṣṭa*	36
16. *Śatrumardana*	34
17. *Bhāgapañca*	32
18. *Nandana*	30
19. *Mānava*	28
20. *Mānabhadraka*	26
21. *Sugrīva*	24
22. *Harita*	22
23. *Harṇikāra*	20
24. *Śatardhika*	18
25. *Siṁha*	16
26. *Śyāmabhadra*	14
27. *Subhadra*	12

Plan of Maṇḍapas

The prescribed shapes for the *maṇḍapas* are *trikoṇa, vṛtta, ardhendu, catuṣkoṇa, aṣṭāsra* and *dviraṣṭaka* ; others may be inauspicious.

The plot for the *maṇḍapa* should be divided into sixty-four padas. The *dvāra* should be placed in the centre. The height of the *maṇḍapa* should be double the width and the *kaṭi* (wall) will be one third of the height. Half of the total area should be covered by the walls. One-fourth of the central portion (encircled open space) should be taken as the scale for *dvāra* whose height is the triple and width double of the scale. The jambs should be decorated with three, five, seven and nine *śākhās.* The doors measuring one hundred forty and half, one hundred thirty and one hundred twenty *aṅgulas* are considered as *jyeṣṭha, madhyama* and *kanīyas* respectively. The door measuring 180 *aṅgulas* is supposed to be the best one for ventilation, while the other prescribed dimensions are 80, 90, 100, 110 and 116 *aṇgulas.* There are ten doorways for *maṇḍapas.* Other dimensions are forbidden as they trouble the mind. There should be no obstruction, in front of the door, caused by tree, corner, curve, pillar, banner, well, wall and chasm or pit.

Other Paraphernalia

To the south of the *maṇḍapa* should be planted trees with fruits, to the east, milky trees, to the west a pond full of lotuses and to the north should be palm trees and flowers. The *parivārālayas* should be erected surrounding the *maṇḍapa* and a temple. These are as follows :

South—place for penance (*tapovana*).

North—*mātṛkā*-temple.

South-east (*āgneya*)-kitchen

South-west (*nairṛtya*)—Gaṇeśa-temple

West—Śrī or Lakṣmī-temple and a place for offerings for god. Candra and etc.

North-west (*Vāyavya*)—platform for *grahas* i. e. (*navagrahas*).

North—*yajñaśālā*

North-east-(*īśāna*)—*vāpi* (step-well) and Śeṣaśāyī Viṣṇu therein.

Front—place for Nandī in Śiva's temples. Thus, the temple should consist of *ghaṇṭā*, *toraṇa*, *dhvajā*, *kuṇḍa* and *maṇḍapa* etc.

Pillars

Chapter 254 of Matsya provides a detailed description of pillars. According to it there are five kinds of pillars enumerated below :

1. *Rucaka*—It has four sides.
2. *Vajra*—It has eight sides.
3. *Dvivajra*—It is *ṣoḍaśāra*, i. e., sixteen-sided.
4. *Pralīnaka*—It exhibits thirty-two sides.
5. *Vṛtta* – It is circular.

The pillars should be decorated with *patravallīs*, *latās*, *kumbha* and *patra* etc.

REFLECTIONS ON ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY YEARS OF PURĀṆA STUDIES*

By

LUDO ROCHER

As you know, a few years ago one of my gurus in Europe, Professor Jan Gonda of the University of Utrecht, conceived the idea of providing us with a new *History of Indian Literature*, to replace Moriz Winternitz' *Geschichte der indischen Literatur*. Of course, this would not—and no longer could—be a one-man enterprise. On the contrary, it was to be a 40 volume series, to be undertaken by as many contributors. At a certain moment Professor Gonda suggested that I take responsibility for the volume on the Purāṇas. I thought it might be an interesting experience, and I accepted. I can assure you, an interesting experience it has been—and still is.

I do not want to belabor here the point of the sheer bulk of Purāṇa literature. A reference book on the Purāṇas should not be restricted to the eighteen major Purāṇas (Mahāpurāṇas) nor even to the eighteen minor Purāṇas (Upapurāṇas). It should report on every aspect of puranic literature, including the Māhātmyas, Sthalapurāṇas, and "caste" Purāṇas, with at least brief references to the few Buddhist and the many Jaina Purāṇas, with brief reference also to the vernacular Purāṇas, etc. Those of you who have known Professor V. Raghavan will appreciate, when someone like him said : "The Purāṇas form the largest part of the writings in Sanskrit, a most voluminous and bewildering mass". And, faced as I am with the responsibility of producing a complete and balanced reference book, I constantly feel Dr. Raghavan looking over my shoulder, repeating what he wrote in 1961 : "To take stock of [the Purāṇas] is an impossible task". I indeed feel uncomfortable writing about a body of texts, when I can claim direct knowledge of only a small part of them.

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* Note : This paper is based on the transcript of an oral presentation at the Wisconsin South Asia Conference (U. S. A.), in November 1981.

Fortunately, I can go for help elsewhere than to the texts themselves. When Winternitz wrote his chapter on the Purāṇas for his *Geschichte der indischen Literatur*, three quarters of a century ago, he added an introductory footnote with general Purāṇa bibliography. The footnote contained, besides the names of Aufrecht and Eggeling for their manuscript catalogues of the Bodleian and the India Office Libraries, respectively, the names of *three* other scholars who had written on Purāṇas generally : H. H. Wilson, V. Kennedy, and E. Burnouf. That was it ! And the bibliography for the eighteen individual Mahāpurāṇas—for this was all Winternitz could write about—, this bibliography too amounted to very little. I am much more fortunate. Although it has always been said that the Purāṇas have been neglected, and even though it is still fashionable to repeat that today, the secondary literature on Purāṇas has grown immensely since the time of Winternitz. In fact, it has grown to such an extent that, like the Purāṇas themselves, it has become "a most voluminous and bewildering mass," and that "to take stock of it has virtually become an impossible task."

It is about this secondary literature that I would like to talk to you today. My problem—and the reason why my Purāṇa book has taken much longer than anticipated—is that I have begun to question the validity of the scholarly approach to puranic texts, as it manifests itself throughout the secondary literature. I say "throughout", for much of the secondary literature on Purāṇas is also a classical example of how scholarship perpetuates itself, of how scholarship, once it is caught in a groove, refuses to get away from it, the strongest evidence to the contrary notwithstanding. I have begun to question a number, perhaps most of the general trends underlying Purāṇa research for the last century and a half. Yet, I have to remind myself, again and again, that I am writing an objective reference book, not a subjective appraisal on my part. I will now try to explain some of the problems I am facing.

The pivot of Purāṇa studies is, of course, Horace Hayman Wilson. He is, naturally, best known as the translator, in 1840, of the Viṣṇupurāṇa. But he did much more than that. He trained several young pandits, to go through manuscripts of all the major Purāṇas, and provide him with detailed—extremely detailed—indices and summaries. These indices and summaries were then trans-

lated into English, and Wilson personally went back to the Sanskrit texts whenever a passage seemed particularly important. These impressive indices, which I have examined in London, were the basis of Wilson's descriptions of the major Purāṇas in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society and elsewhere, and, more succinctly, in the introduction to his Viṣṇupurāṇa, in 1840. By the way, Winternitz' descriptions of the contents of the Purāṇas are nothing more than summaries of Wilson's descriptions.

The last impression I want to create is that I underestimate Wilson. His was the work of a giant. But it is Wilson's ideas about Purāṇas which created the "groove" which I mentioned earlier. It is Wilson's ideas about Purāṇas which were universally accepted by later European scholars. And when Indian scholars joined in, they too repeated and amplified Wilson. Let me be more specific, and take up my first problem.

Wilson, in a way, became disappointed with Purāṇas. This is what he said in the introduction to the Viṣṇupurāṇa :

> "In the notes which I have added to the translation, I have been desirous chiefly of comparing the statements of the text with those of other Purāṇas, and pointing out the circumstances in which they differ or agree; so as to render the present publication a sort of concordance to the whole, as it is not very probable that many of them will be published or translated." (Hazra's 1961 edition, p. lxxii).

Much more important is the reason why Wilson thought that not many Purāṇas would be edited or translated :

> "From the sketch thus offered of the subjects of the Purāṇas, and which, although admitting of correction, it is believed to be in the main a candid and accurate summary, it will be evident that in their present condition they must be received with caution as authorities for the mythological religion of the Hindus at any remote period. They preserve, no doubt, many ancient notions and traditions; but these have been so mixed up with foreign matter, intended to favour the popularity of particular forms of worship or articles of faith, that they cannot be unreservedly recognised as genuine representations of what we have reason to believe the Purāṇas originally were" (1961, p. lvi).

In other words, what Wilson suggested was that there existed, some day, "an earlier class of which those we now have are but the partial and adulterated representatives" (1961, p. iv). This idea, that behind each and every extant Purāṇa there was an earlier, better one—THE true so-and-so Purāṇa—, has never been questioned. It is, of course, a perfect excuse to label anything one does not like in a text as a later addition, an "adulteration" in Wilson's words. Let us examine some of the arguments that have been used to posit the existence of earlier, better Purāṇas.

The first argument is the sectarian character of the extant Purāṇas. In the preface to his Viṣṇupurāṇa translation Wilson distinguished two stages in the development of the Hindu religion; the Vedic period characterized by the worship of personified elements and a more simple and primitive form of adoration, and the mytho-heroic period. The latter was again subdivided into two phases; the older one represented by the Mahābhārata and the younger one which corresponds to the time of the Purāṇas, the main exponents of sectarian Hinduism. The Purāṇas were "no longer authorities for Hindu belief as a whole : they are special guides for separate and sometimes conflicting branches of it, compiled for the evident purpose of promoting the preferential, or in some cases the sole, worship of Vishṇu or Śiva" (1961, p. iv). The Purāṇas, as we have them, are merely "pious frauds for temporary purposes" (ibid., p. vi). But, "It is possible, however, that there may have been an earlier class of Purāṇas."

Again, Wilson's idea has been repeated by everyone writing on Purāṇas after him, and it has found its way into all general books on Indian religion and civilization : whatever is sectarian in a Purāṇa is à recent addition to an earlier, non-sectarian kernel.

It is true that the tradition recognizes a sectarian classification. There are *sāttvika* Purāṇas in which Viṣṇu prevails, *tāmasa* Purāṇas which are Śaiva, and *rājasa* Purāṇas in which Brahmā comes first. It is also true that there are some strong sectarian statements in the Purāṇas. For instance, in favor of Śiva :

> "From even looking at Viṣṇu, the wrath of Śiva is kindled, and from his wrath we assuredly fall into a horrible hell ; let not, therefore, the name of Viṣṇu ever be pronounced."

Or, in favor of Viṣṇu :

> "He who abandons Vāsudeva and worship any other god, is like a fool who, being thirsty, sinks a well in the bank of the Ganges."

The problem is that both these strong sectarian statements occur in one and the same text : the Padmapurāṇa.

Examples like this are legion. When I read the secondary literature on individual Purāṇas, I find, for most of them, statements that in reality they are not as unilaterally sectarian as they are supposed to be. And, yet, no one abandons the idea that they ought to be. About the Vāmanapurāṇa, for example, it has been said that it is a Śaiva recast of a Vaiṣṇava work, the first sectarian version of an originally non-sectarian Vāmanapurāṇa. In other words, scholars would go any length to justify the strictly sectarian division of the extant Purāṇas. And, of course, sects are recent; therefore, there were older Purāṇas which were non-sectarian. The fact that many students of Indian religion believe, today, that sects in Hinduism were much older than Wilson thought them to be in 1840, has not been given much consideration in Purāṇa research.

The second argument to show that each extant Purāṇa is but the "partial and adulterated representative" of its older and better counterpart, is connected with what is supposed to be THE defintion of the term Purāṇa : *Pañcalakṣaṇa*. A Purāṇa is supposed to deal with five topics. They are, in Wilson's translation : (1) Primary creation, or cosmogony ; (2) Secondary creation, or the destruction and renovation of worlds, including chronology; (3) Genealogy of gods and patriarchs ; (4) Reigns of the Manus, or periods called Manvantaras ; (5) History, or such particulars as have been preserved of the princes of the solar and lunar races, and of their descendants to modern times.

There is one problem, however, and Wilson duly noted it. He himself asked the question ; "Do [the Purāṇas] conform to this description ?", and he answered : "Not exactly in any one instance ; to some of them it is utterly inapplicable ; to others it partially applies." I have collected tens and tens of quotes, echoing Wilson more or less literally. This is one of them, dated 1970, one hundred and thirty years after Wilson :

> "That the present texts hardly represent the original Purāṇas can be inferred from the disparity between the old definition of the Purāṇas and their present contents..........Some of the Purāṇas largely ignore the five subjects mentioned in the definition."

We are faced, then, with the following situation. On the one hand, we have a definition the origin of which we know little about, a definition we may not even have interpreted correctly. On the other hand, as P. V. Kane puts it, "the five characteristic topics occupy less than three percent of the extent of the extant Mahāpurāṇas" (*History of Dharmaśāstra*, vol. 5, p. 841). Here again, scholars have noted the problem, but no one drew the obvious conclusions.

There is a third argument in favor of earlier lost Purāṇas, namely the descriptions of Purāṇas. I am referring here to the few Purāṇas which, besides listing the titles of the Purāṇas, also provide a few details on their contents. Once more it was Wilson who suggested that these descriptions offered "means........of discovering a difference between the present and the past." His suggestion was taken literally. The descriptions—however scanty they are—have been conceived as descriptions of the early Purāṇas. The Purāṇas as we have them do not correspond with these descriptions. Therefore they are only the late, corrupt representatives of the older versions--which no one has ever seen.

One footnote to this. We have a number of Purāṇas that give the total amount of verses of each of the eighteen Mahāpurāṇas. Scholars have devoted themselves to comparing these figures with the number of verses in the printed editions of the Purāṇas. Of course, nothing corresponds. When I examine all these computations, I notice that there is just one stable element : the sum total of the verses, in the eighteen Mahāpurāṇas, has to be, as the tradition requires, four hundred thousand. By the way, hardly any text arrives at exactly that figure, but they all come very close. I also notice that, when it comes to the individual Purāṇas, there is a lot of variation, not only between numbers cited in different Purāṇas, but also between those occurring in different manuscripts of the same Purāṇas. I am convinced that the puranic scribes did not take these figures too seriously. I then wonder why we should.

A fourth argument to show that our present Purāṇas are different from the original ones has been worked out, in great detail, by Professor R.C. Hazra, of Calcutta Sanskrit College. Hazra carefully collected quotations from Purāṇas in medieval compendia on dharma. Some of these quotations occur in the Purāṇa editions, but others do not. The latter, therefore, belonged to the now lost original Purāṇas. Professor Hazra, no doubt, is a great scholar. Without his work I could not write the book I am now writing. When it comes to the question of "the earlier Purāṇas," however, he follows Wilson and everyone else,—and I cannot follow him. Hazra noticed, though, that the dharma compendia say, for instance about *dāna*, that it occurred in one version of a certain Purāṇa but that it was absent from another version of the same Purāṇa. Hazra also noticed the statement of authors on dharma that they knew of three or more different versions of the same Purāṇa. Yet even though Hazra seems concerned about all this, he too, cannot get away from the hypothetical "original Purāṇa" in each case.

I will soon try to propose a different solution for all these different versions of the individual Purāṇas. In the meanwhile, let me summarize my first problem. Scholarship unanimously agrees that every existing Purāṇa, or eventually all known different versions of existing Purāṇas, all go back to one source : THE earlier version of that Purāṇa. After THE original Purāṇa there has been only deterioration, deterioration which has often been described most picturesquely : "sectarianism muddled them to a great extent", "the Bhaviṣya has been unscrupulously tampered with" "the Agni has been unblushingly tampered with", "the Liṅga is the result of a destructive recast", etc. All this, as I said earlier, in comparison with THE older Purāṇas which no one has ever seen.

We shall now go one step further. On the basis of the indices which Wilson had prepared for various Purāṇas, he noticed, of course, that the individual Purāṇas have numerous topics in common :

> "The identity of the legends in many of them, and still more the identity of words—for in several of them long passages are literally the same—is a sufficient proof that in all such cases they must be copied either from some other similar work, or from a common and prior original" (1961, p. iv).

The idea of a common origin of all the Purāṇas soon gained ground. After a few attempts to reconstruct the original texts of minor stories, F. E. Pargiter, in 1913, compared the corresponding sections, and reconstructed, THE original *Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age.* Even more important, in 1927 Willibald Kirfel applied the same process to the core of Purāṇa literature, *pañcalakṣaṇa.* His book : *Das Purāṇa Pañcalakṣaṇa. Versuch einer Textgeschichte*, was announced, in an earlier article, as an attempt to reconstruct "the Ur-Purāṇa."

I do not want to go into detail here about Kirfel's methodology. Let me just point out one thing. Kirfel compared the versions of corresponding topics in different Purāṇas "as so many different manuscripts of the same text." These "manuscripts" would, of course, allow the European-trained philologist to apply to them all the rules of textual criticism, which he had learned to apply to the works of Plato and Aristotle, or to the poems of Horace and Virgil. Textual criticism would allow him to reconstruct THE Ur-Text, in this case : THE Ur-Purāṇa.

I have already, in passing, expressed some of my doubts about specific criteria applied to Purāṇa research. Let me now add a few remarks of a more general nature. First of all, Western scholars—followed by Indian scholars later—have overlooked one basic fact : the transmission of puranic materials on the one hand, and the transmission of the Veda on the other hand, are two very different things. Everyone marvels how the Vedas have been transmitted, for centuries, and purely orally, without one syllable, or a single accent, being changed. For some reason everyone expected something similar for all other Indian texts, including the Purāṇas. And yet, one should have known better.

In 1805, Captain Francis Wilford reported on his experiences when he asked a Pandit to copy, for him, some relevant passages from the Purāṇas. The Pandit knew what Wilford wanted, and he gave him exactly what he wanted. The Pandit knew that Wilford was looking for the term *Śveta* to refer to the British Isles ; so the Pandit changed a few geographical names to have them read *Śveta.* He even composed, on his own, "two voluminous sections," one supposed to belong to the Skandapurāṇa, another to the Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa, in which he

narrated all the puranic stories which he assumed would help Wilford. The only recognition he got for his labors is that Wilford calls him an impostor, and his composition a forgery.

Let me give you one other example. In the 1870's Georg Bühler obtained, through the good services of the Maharaja of Kashmir, a copy of the Nīlamatapurāṇa. When Bühler later went to Kashmir, and looked at the originals from which the Pandit had made the copy for him, he noticed that in all of the originals the beginning of the text was missing : the Pandit had tried to be helpful by composing the beginning of the text on his own. Bühler did not complain too much ; he just warned that one has to be careful. In fact, all the Pandits to whom he talked, agreed that Bühler's copy of the Nīlamata was far superior to all the other manuscripts. A later editor of the text, on the other hand—the Dutchman de Vreese, trained, like Kirfel, in classical philology with its strict rules of textual criticism—, is more outspoken. According to him, "the paṇḍit has little respect for the sacredness of the ancient records and does not scruple to alter them, for some purpose or other, in an unsparing manner....The manuscript tradition of the *Nīlamata*...has been deteriorated and corrupted in consequence of this uncritical and unscientific system."

My approach to Purāṇas is a different one. I too have been trained in classical philology in Europe. I too have learned how to prepare critical editions, comparing manuscripts and reconstructing THE original text—the archetype. But I am prepared to forget all that when it comes to the Purāṇas. There is no point blaming the carriers of the puranic tradition for their "uncritical and unscientific" methods; there is no point calling them "impostors", for the single reason that they do not conform to the Western rules of textual criticism. If Captain Wilford's experience, and Georg Bühler's experience are characteristic for the way in which Purāṇas are transmitted—and I have strong arguments to show that Purāṇas have always been transmitted that way—, in that case it is our duty not to criticize, but to try to understand. Even more important, it is our duty to draw all the necessary conclusions.

The Purāṇas belong to the realm of the Paurāṇika or the Sūta, i.e., the bard or story-teller, who comes to the house of a private individual, or to a public place in the village, often in front of a

temple, to entertain the people with his puranic stories. I have collected all the information I could, from travel accounts, gazetteers, and other sources, better to understand what exactly happens on such occasions. Here is one example, on the gāgariyā bhaṭ in Gujarat, as told by K. M. Munshi :

> "Wherever he happens to be, he opens his session at night on some temple-door or verandah before a public square. With his nimble fingers loaded with brass rings, he starts playing upon *gāgar* as on a hand-drum, and makes the pot resound with his skillful raps. The neighbourhood flocks to hear the *kathā*, as the Purāṇic recital is called; the public square in front and the windows of the surrounding houses are turned into an auditorium for the occasion. The *bhaṭ* recites an *ākhyān*; explains many parts of it, adds a flourish here, a touch there, to move or tickle the audience; improvises new stories and introduces lively anecdotes. The audience sits, hour after hour, absorbed in the recital. The description of a Purāṇic incident or character, in the mouth of a competent *bhaṭ*, assumes a fresh form and contemporary colour. At an interesting point in the recital the *bhaṭ* stops, and wants to know who among his listeners will provide for his next day's dinner; and, unless he is ignorant of the rudiments of his art, he is sure to receive invitations from more than one hospitable townsman. Having made sure of the morrow, he proceeds with the *kathā* till after midnight, sometimes till the early hours of the morning. The session continues for a month, sometimes longer; its length, as a rule, depends on the *bhaṭ*'s ability to attract a good audience, and upon the hospitable nature of the locality. After the session is over, the *bhaṭ* is feasted, carried in a procession through the town, and presented with a purse as a send-off."

If, first, each Paurāṇika could tell his stories differently according to the circumstance : adding a little, withholding a little, changing a little;—if, second, there must have been thousands of Paurāṇikas, all over India, in the course of the centuries,—if all this is true, then I would submit that, instead of using textual criticism to pose the existence of one original, let us say, Matsyapurāṇa, we should rather look at the reality and accept the fact that there have been numerous versions of the Matsyapurāṇa. Those versions

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which happen to have been written down in our manuscripts are but an infinitesimal part of what the Matsyapurāṇa tradition and, for that matter, the tradition of all Purāṇas, has been.

I do not know whether anyone of you has compared English translations of Purāṇas with the Sanskrit editions. I have, in my files, a quote from a German scholar who labels one English translation as "bursting with errors." In reality, the translator acted with the same acceptable freedom, which we better recognize. I think, for instance, of the translation of the Matsyapurāṇa in the *Sacred Books of the Hindus*, which is not only anonymous, but of which the editor explicitly says that it does not follow a printed edition but rather gives the gist of the story. In other words, even the so-called "bad" English translations of Purāṇas are true representatives of the puranic tradition. The same also applies to many Indian editions with the Sanskrit text and "translation" into a modern Indian language juxtaposed. Sometimes the vernacular version omits details in the Sanskrit ; elsewhere it provides much more than there is in the "original." I know of one case, for the Kālikāpurāṇa, where the Bengali "translation" at the bottom of the pages gives a different version of the Purāṇa than the one in Sanskrit text printed above it.

Let us now examine what all this means for the editions of the Purāṇas we all use, and which we build our scholarly conclusions on. Most editions do not even use all available manuscripts, so that they represent an even narrower range of the original spectrum. To be sure, there are Purāṇas for which the Bombay edition used manuscripts which are considerable different from the ones used in the Calcutta edition. Scholary literature then speaks of a Western and Eastern version, say, of the Padmapurāṇa. Let us especially not be lured when the Bombay and the Calcutta editions agree ; let us, above all, not think that, in those cases, there *is* no difference. I could quote several examples where one edition is nothing more than a reprint of the other, misprints and all. I believed, for a while, that, in the case of the Agnipurāṇa, all editions had the same number of chapters,-until I read that the chapters in question had been introduced by the first editor, Rajendralal Mitra.

My point is that all our Purāṇa research, so far, based as it is, mainly, on the existing editions, has been incomplete, or at least

lopsided. When I read an article, by Hohenberger, called "Das Vāmanapurāṇa" and see that it is based on one single edition, I cannot help wondering what it tells us about THE Vāmanapurāṇa. Even when Kirfel bases his book, *Das Purāṇapañcalakṣaṇa*, on editions only —as many as he could get, but still very little—, I have to think of all the different versions which are not there. The last few years the All-India Kashiraj Trust in Varanasi has undertaken a series of critical editions of Purāṇas. A real effort is made to collect all available materials, even as Poona did for the Mahābhārata and Baroda for the Rāmāyaṇa. The epics were enough of a difficult task ; the principles on which their critical editions are based have not escaped criticism. The Purāṇas, inevitably, create even more stupendous problems. At least we can be assured that the scholars at the Ramnagar Palace leave no stone unturned to base their editions on every piece of evidence available, anywhere in the world.

The critical editions bring me to one last point. I must remind you of the fact that many Purāṇa stories occur in more than one Purāṇa. I think that Raghavan once more drew the right conclusion : to make a critical edition of one Purāṇa, he said, we ought, at the same time, to make critical editions of all of them. In my opinion we have stared ourselves blind at the Purāṇas as coherent books. In fact, most of them are not coherent at all. I feel that we should concentrate, first of all, on the corresponding sections, and study them in as many versions as we can obtain—it would not be perfect, but it would be as perfect as it can possibly be. And, when I say "study" them, I mean compare them as variants in their own right, as revealing manifestation of how the Indian tradition can play with a certain theme, change it, adapt it, etc. But let us, above all, not be Western philologists, looking for "the archetype" which never existed.

These stories, legends, etc. are, for me, the real Purāṇas—and I can substantiate that statement I think the Purāṇas, as we have them now, are a later phenomenon. Someone must have conceived the idea to collect the stories, legends, etc., into larger volumes. And what could be more perfect than providing for eighteen such collections? Everything is eighteen in India. I often wonder—but here I can only wonder—whether the list of eighteen titles was not there first

before each of the titles was given a content—or, rather, many different contents.

You can imagine the problems I face when I try to think all this through, logically. Just one example. If I belive that what are now sections of Purāṇas were originally the only real Purāṇas, which were only later put together—in numerous ways—in larger books, the problem of dating, say THE Matsyapurāṇa, simple becomes a non-question.

These, then, are some of the problems which have delayed the completion of my Purāṇa book—and each of these problems has a hundred ramifications which I have not been able to talk about. My ultimate goal is to try to look at the Purāṇas as the Indian tradition did, and not through the eyes of Western indologists—and, I must add, of Indian scholars who accepted the views and conclusions of their Western colleagues. I can only hope that my approach will meet with some appreciation.

REMARKS ON THE NATURE OF THE PURĀṆA-S*

By

GIORGIO BONAZZOLI

Disagreement among specialists on puranic problems, even on basic points, is almost complete. Fundamental questions, like 'what are the purāṇa-s, when were they written, how were they formed, who were their authors, what is their extent' and so on find different answers with different scholars[1]. One purāṇa is ascribed to the II cent. A. D. by one indologist and to the XIV A. D. or even later by another[2]. Historical[3], philological[4],

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* Abbreviations are given at the end.

1. Answers to all or some of these questions can be found in M. Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature* (English Translation), vol I, part 2, Epics and Purāṇas, Calcutta, 1963, pp. 530 ff; H. H. Wilson, *The Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, Preface, Delhi, Nag Publishers, 1980; *id.*, *The Metaphysics of Purāṇas*, Delhi, Classical Publishing Company (rep.), 1980; F. E. Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, London, Oxford University Press, 1922; R. C. Hazra, *Studies in the Puranic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs*, Dacca, University of Dacca, 1940; P. V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Poona, 1930-1962, especially vol. V; B. Upadhyaya, *Purāṇa-Vimarśa*, Varanasi, Chowkhamba Vidyabhavan, 1965; A. D. Pusalker, *Studies in the Epics and Purāṇas*, Bombay, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1951; *id.*, *Review of Indological Research in last 75 years*, ed. by P. J. Chinmulgund, V. V. Mirashi Poona, n. d., pp. 689-773; G. S. Chaturvedi, *Purāṇa-Pariśīlana*, Patna, Bihar-Rashtrabhasha-Parishad, 1970; Wendy D. O'Flaherty, *Asceticism and Eroticism in the Mythology of Śiva*, Delhi, Oxford University Press, 1973; Hara Prasad Shastri, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government Collection under the Care of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. V, Purāṇa Manuscripts, Calcutta, The Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1928; A. S. Gupta, The Problem of Interpretation of the Purāṇas, *Purāṇa*, vol. vi. 1 (Jan., 1964). pp. 53-78; cf., also *ib.* vii. 2 (July, 1965), pp. 221-251.

2. The Vāmana purāṇa is ascribed to the II cent. A. D. by H. P. Shastri *op. cit.*, pp. 182-183; to three-four centuries ago by H. H. Wilson, *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, Preface, p. LXXVI; between 700 and 1000 A. D. by R. C. Hazra, *op. cit.*, p. 80 (cf. also P. V. Kane, *op. cit.*, vol. V, p. 905).

3. See especially F. E. Pargiter, *op. cit.*; D. R. Mankad, *Purāṇic Chronology*, Anand, Gangajala Prakashan, 1957; R. C. Hazra, A. D. Pusalker, V. V. Mirashi etc.; cf. *Purāṇa* Vol. IV.1 (Jan., 1962), pp. 3–22.

4. W. Kirfel, *Das Purāṇa Pañcalakṣaṇa*, Bonn, 1927; P. Hacker, The Sāṅkhyization of the Emanation Doctrine

symbolical[5] approaches to the purāṇa-s have brought the scholars to different conclusions. Any new system of interpretation, like the structuralistic[6], psychoanalystic[7], comparativistic[8] etc., discovered or studied for other branches of research, has been applied also to puranic lore with results sometimes contradictory.

These facts seem to suggest that the appropriate method of studying the purāṇa-s is yet to be found. Attempts to reach a satisfactory answer to the puranic problems multiply. But the continuously different methods of interpretation show that the real path to follow is still unknown.

On the other hand, the puranic texts are multi-faceted and defy any satisfactory and final definition and classification. In fact, as it will appear from the following pages, we have to admit that the purāṇa-s are *different* from most of the texts. These latter may be composed by one or more authors and have at least a nucleus which remains basically the same throughout MSS tradition down the centuries. The purāṇa-s are not like that. Even if they had a

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Shown in a Critical Analysis of Texts, *Purāṇa*, vol. IV. 2 (July, 1962), pp. 298-338; see also the critical editions of the Vāmana, Kūrma and Varāha purāṇa-s.

5. cf. V. S. Agrawal, *Vāmana Purāṇa—A Study*, Varanasi, Prithivi Prakashan, 1964; *Matsya Purāṇa—A Study*, Varanasi, All-India Kashiraj Trust, 1963; G. S. Chaturvedi, *op. cit.*

6. See Wendy D. O'Flaherty, *op. cit.*; M. Biardeau, *Etudes de Mythologie Hindoue*, Tome I, Cosmogonies Purāṇiques, Publications de l'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient, vol. CXXVIII, Paris, 1981.

7. Paul B. Courtright, The Beheading of Gaṇeśa, *Purāṇa*, vol. XXII. 1 (Jan., 1980), pp. 67-80.

8. The series of articles by V. M. Bedekar in *Purāṇa*, vol. IV. 1 (Jan., 1962), pp. 197-214; vol. V. 2 (July, 1963), pp. 280-304; vol. VII. 1 (Jan., 1965), pp. 87-127; vol. IX. 1 (Jan., 1967), pp. 7-61; vol. X. 1 (Jan., 1968) pp. 17-27; vol. XII. 1 (Jan., 1970), pp. 12-32; vol. XVII. 1 (Jan., 1975), pp. 6-14. Ronald M. Huntington, The Legend of Pṛthu, *Purāṇa*, vol. II, 1-2 (July, 1960), pp. 188-210; Avatāras and Yugas. An Essay in Purāṇic Cosmology, *Purāṇa*, vol. VI. 1 (Jan., 1964), pp. 7-39; Cornelia Dimitt Church, The Myth of Four Yugas in the Sanskrit Purāṇas. A Dimensional Study, *Purāṇa*, vol. XVI. 1 (Jan. 1974), pp. 5-25.

nucleus in the beginning and one or more specific authors, they went on changing continuously. Their concern has always been less to remain faithful to their contents than to their very nature of texts always under transformation. This specific puranic nature of permanent transformation has to be examined thoroughly and carefully. An attempt in this direction is made in this article. It will be only a beginning obviously as examining the nature of the purāṇa-s is a vast and rather delicate undertaking. The importance of such a research, however, is self-evident. If the purāṇa-s have such a peculiar nature we cannot understand them fully without applying to them the appropriate method of research. Borrowing and adapting methods discovered for analysing texts rather different in nature from the purāṇa-s will not lead us very far.

The ancient Sanskrit authors, like Śabara, Kumārila, Śaṅkara and others, seem not to have been concerned with discussing the nature of the purāṇa-s[9]. Even Ballāla Sena, who is so accurate in giving the type of purāṇa-s he will be quoting in its Nibandha and dwell on the reasons why he takes from one purāṇa and not from another, does not say what a purāṇa is[10]. All these authors and the people of their time knew what the purāṇa-s were and so they did not discuss the nature of the purāṇa-s but lingered in solving other problems, especially those referring to the '*prāmāṇya*' of the purāṇa-s[11]. For this reason they can be only of indirect utility to us.

The purāṇa-s give their own definition in the famous *śloka* :

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9. B. Upadhyaya, *op. cit.*, pp. 26 ff. Different statements of ancient authors on the purāṇa-s are also gathered in Madhvāchārya, *Purāṇadigdarśana*, Delhi, Dharma Press, n. d., 3rd ed., pp. 114 ff.

10. *Dānasāgara*, ed. by B. Bhattacharya, Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta, The Asiatic Society, 1953, pp. 2-7.

11. *Prāmāṇya* has always been the problem of the Nibandhas; see *Kṛtyakalpataru* of Lakṣmidhara Bhaṭṭa, Ed. by K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar, Gaekwad's Oriental Series, vol. CVI, Baroda, Oriental Institute, 1948, vol. I, p. 20[illegible]; *Smṛticandrikā* by Devaṇa Bhaṭṭa, Ed. by L. Srinivasacharya, Govt. Oriental Library Series, Bibliotheca Sanskrita No. 43, Mysore, Govt. Branch Press, 1914, vol. I, pp. 3 ff; *Kṛtyaratnākara* by Caṇḍesvara Thakkura, Ed. by K. K. Smrititirtha, Bibliotheca Indica, New Series No. 144, Calcutta, Asiatic Society, 1922, pp. 26 ff etc.

सर्गश्च प्रतिसर्गश्च वंशो मन्वन्तराणि च ।
वंशानुचरितञ्चैव पुराणं पञ्चलक्षणम् ॥ (*Mt* 53.64)[12]

Everybody knows that such a definition is not applicable to the extant purāṇa-s.[13] As for the past times there are proofs showing that such a definition applied, if ever, to the purāṇa-s only in a particular period of their evolution.[14] This definition, then, does not help much in discovering the real nature of the purāṇa-s.

Nirukta 3.19 affirms :

पुरा नवं भवति इति पुराणम् ॥

"The old (पुरा) becomes new (नवम्)", that is "purāṇa". This definition applies to the 'purāṇa' of the vedic period and is concerned with the meaning of the word 'purāṇa' and not with a class of texts. Such a definition, however, can fit very well also the puranic nature of our extant texts and matches almost perfectly with what seems to be really the main characteristic of the purāṇa-s in their evolution down the centuries.[15] Yet such a definition is not available in the purāṇa-s. Either it is substituted :

यस्मात् पुरा ह्यनतीदं पुराणं तेन तत् स्मृतम ॥(*Vy* I. 1.203, cf., *Pd* V.2.53)
'It is mentioned as purāṇa because it breathes old'

or it is changed significantly :

यस्मात् पुरा ह्यभूच्चैतत् पुराणं तेन तत् स्मृतम् ॥ *Bd* I. 1.173
(cf., *B*. 45.4; 48.3).

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12. See also *Bd* I. 1.37 cd-38 ab; *Bhv* I. 2.4cd-5ab; *G* I. 215.14; *K* I. 1.12; *Ś* VII. 1.40; *Vi* VI. 8.2, 13; *Vr* 2.4; *Vy* 4.10cd-11ab; cf., *A* 1.14; *Bhg* XII. 7.8–10 and *Vi* III. 6.25.
13. See M. Winternitz, *op. cit.*, p. 522; F. E. Pargiter, *op. cit.*, pp. 36 ff; E. Burnouf, *Le Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, Paris, Imprimerie Royale, 1840, vol. I., p. XLII f; Wilson *op. cit.*, p. V, etc. See a review of these interpretations and a new perspective in S. H. Levitt, A Note on the Compound *Pañcalakṣaṇa* in Amarasiṁha's *Nāmaliṅgānuśasana*, *Purāṇa* Vol. XVIII. 1 (Jan., 1976), pp. 5-38.
14. S. Piano, Temi e Orientamenti nel settore delle ricerche puraniche, in Atti del Primo Convegno Nazionale di Studi Sanscriti, (Torino, 17 Octobre, 1980), Editi da O. Botto, Torino, A. I. S. S., 1982, p. 109 ff; *Purāṇa*, vol. XXI. 2 (July, 1979), pp. 130-132.
15. See what H.P. Shastri, *op. cit.*, p. LXXVII says : 'it seems that the idea of a purāṇa varied in course of time.'

"It is mentioned as purāṇa because it was in olden times."

So, whatever is the meaning of Nirukta's definition—as in fact different interpretations have been given of it[16]–it is conspicuous for its absence from the purāṇa-s. Maybe the puranic authors did not see in it the description of their own works because they gave it an interpretation different from the one given in the above translation as Bḍ I. 1.173 seems to suggest or because they did not want to identify their works with the vedic purāṇa or again for other unknown reasons. So such a definition cannot be used safely and has to be dropped in this research.

We are left with the puranic text only. It is by examining it that we may hope to understand what the purāṇa-s are. Fortunately the purāṇa-s themselves give abundant descriptions of their own nature. We have only to follow them and organize in a systematic way their statements.[17] In this article we shall take and examine a few basic puranic assertions bearing on the puranic nature, leaving many others for further research.

1. PUNAḤ

The word '*punaḥ*' is repeated as a kind of refrain at the beginning of many *kathā*-s or *stotra*-s and the like, as well as when a ritual or a *vrata* is described or a new topic is introduced[18], etc. It has basically two meanings following the whims of the interlocutors who either desire 'something more', namely the continuation of what is being narrated, or ask for 're-narration' of what was already heard immediately before or on other occasions[19].

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16. See *Purāṇa*, vol. XXI. 2 (July, 1979), p. 120 fn. 13.
17. We should introduce here first of all, as peculiar and basic character of the purāṇa-s, their claim of being religious and authoritative works. As these points have already been discussed in *Purāṇa*, Vol. XXII. 2 (July, 1979), pp. 116–166 they are overlooked here. But those two points are to be kept constantly in mind in order to understand the here proposed sketch on the puranic nature.
18. See, for instance, the following passages taken at random: *Mk* 89.2; *Ś* VII. 2.41.46; *Mt* 153.160ff, 168, 42.21; *Bv* I. 15.56; *Pd* VI. 90.45; *N* I. 80.1; *B* 30.2; 51.60; *Bv* III. 6.1; *Vr* 181; 189.1; 178.124; 209.1; *Bhv* III. 4.1.4; *Mt* 104.1; *L* II. 55.2 etc.
19. The third meaning of the word *punaḥ*, namely 'moreover', also very common in the purāṇa-s, is not important for our discussion and it is, therefore, not taken into consideration.

The Brahma purāṇa (41.1ff), for instance, affirms that the *dvija*-s,[20] after having heard the story of Dakṣa, asked Vyāsa to continue the narration.

पप्रच्छुश्च पुनर्व्यासं कथाशेषं तथा द्विजाः । 5 ab

'The twice-born asked then Vyāsa the rest of the *kathā*'(*kathāśeṣa*) The same request for *kathāśeṣa* will be repeated also later in *B* 46.1. In fact, this request for having something more narrated recurs very often in the purāṇa-s. Like children the *ṛṣi*-s, the *muni*-s or the *dvija*-s continue to ask *punaḥ, punaḥ* (cf.; *B* 41.4d); they seem to be never satisfied with what they already know[21]. They are continuously hankering after the untold, the unrevealed.

किं भूयः श्रोतुमिच्छसि ।

'What do you desire to hear more' ?

repeats as a kind of refrain the Brahmavaivarta echoed by many other purāṇa-s[22]. It will appear below[23] that the *kathāśeṣa* the *muni*-s and the others ask for is still very large and it is lying, according to the purāṇa-s, in *devaloka*. So by asking the rest of the *kathā*, the *ṛṣi*-s, the *muni*-s and the *prajāpati*-s[24] ask, indeed, for the unveiling of secrets, i. e., of things as yet concealed from them. It belongs to the puranic nature to be the 'continuation' of what was said before. Even a whole purāṇa like the Devī Bhāgavata (I. 1.20) or the Śiva (I. 1. 10) may still remain to be narrated so that by the revelation of that *rahasya* (*Ś. śl* 11) the *ṛṣi*-s etc. might find their satisfaction. The purāṇa-s, then, exist for narrating the *kathāśeṣa*, or the *śrotavyāṁśa* (the part to be heard), as it said in *Pd* VI. 219.23.

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20. In this passage of the Brahma purāṇa the interlocutors are called *muniśreṣṭhāḥ* in *śl* 1a; cf., 10a, *ṛṣipuṁgavāḥ* in 6b; *dvija*-s in 1d, 5b, 12b.
21. See below, pp. 95-96.
22. *Bv* II. 1.165; 3.62; 7.117; 11.142; 54.180; III. 17.26; 18.23; 23.43 etc.; IV. 24.90; 30.112; 129.111; 131.38; 132.90; *Mt* 112.78; 140.85; *Bḍ* I. 2.38.33; III. 43.113; *Vi* II. 6.51; III. 2.61; 6.33; 7.39 etc.; *Pd* VI. 61.28; *B* 51.59; *Vr* 144.112; 146.80; 148.63; 184.44; 188.123; 214.22.
23. See p. 100.
24. The use of this word in this context can be justified with what said in "Purāṇic Paramparā", *Purāṇa*, vol. XXII. 1 (Jan., 1980), pp. 42-44.

But the word *punaḥ* has also the other meaning of 'once more'.

कथितानि पुराणानि यान्यस्माकं त्वयानघ ।
तान्येवामृतकल्पानि श्रोतुमिच्छामहे पुनः ॥ (*Mt* 1.7)

'O sinless one, we wish to hear *again* the very same nectar-like purāṇa-s which have been recited to us by you.'

The repetition, then, of the same stories, teachings or subjects is wanted and looked for by the puranic authors.

रटन्तीह पुराणानि भूयो भूयो वरानने ॥ *N* II. 24.23

"The purāṇa-s say here again and again, o beautiful-faced one."

The repetition is, sometimes, added immediately so that we have the same fact or *kathā* repeated twice, one after the other; such is the case of *Mt* 104. 1; 106. 1; 109. 1 where the Prayāga māhātmya is given both by enlarging and by repeating what was just said in the preceding *adhyāya*-s also referring to Prayāga. But such repetitions of themes are most of the times far from one another, they may be one at the beginning of the purāṇa and the other at the end or they can be interspersed in the text. This latter is the most common case. Not infrequently the repetition is asked at the end of the purāṇa itself just before the *anukramaṇī* (*Bv* IV. 132.1). We have also examples of themes repeated more than once as a kind of refrain like the *sṛṣṭi*-theme in the Agni, Garuḍa, Matsya,[25] etc. These repetitions are often introduced without any notice as in the Agni Purāṇa where, for instance, the *devīpratimā-lakṣaṇa* is described in *A* 50 and then repeated in 52 or the *snānavidhi* firstly given in 22 and then again in 58 without mentioning that a repetition of the same theme is introduced. But in many other cases the puranic authors inform us that they are introducing a theme already described before :

व्याख्यातुमुपचक्राम पुनः सर्गप्रवर्त्तनम् । (*Bḍ* III. 4.9)[26]

'(Lomaharṣaṇa) began to renarrate the evolving of creation.'

This puranic awarness of the repetitions confirms that the additions in the purāṇa-s are not made by accident or secretely;

25. For the repetition of themes see "Schemes in the Purāṇas", *Purāṇa*, vol. XXIV. 1 (Jan., 1982), pp. 147-189.
26. See also *Bhv* IV. 9.1; *Pd* VI. 85.4 etc.

they are rather introduced openly, because, in fact, they are parts of the puranic nature itself. When the puranic authors wanted to add something to the purāṇa-s they did not need to conceal their additions; they could do it openly, being sure that it would be accepted by the listeners and the readers. These latter, indeed, like the *ṛṣi*-s, the *muni*-s, the *prajāpati*-s and even Dharaṇī (*Vr* 189.2) are always looking for new things or repetitions of old themes for their own satisfaction or for renewal of their devotion.[27]

पुराणश्रवणाद् भक्तिर्जायते श्रीपतौ शुभा ।। (*N* I. 9. 102; cf., I. 6. 56)

"A meritorious *bhakti* towards Viṣṇu develops from listening to the Purāṇa-s".

By stressing the idea that 'addition' may be, in fact, also a 'repetition' the purāṇa-s want to impress that they are not new works, but rather a kind of reminder, a representation in a renewed form of what belongs to the past and is already known to the listeners. The same word *punaḥ*, then, points towards two different, apparently opposite, but in fact complimentary directions. As indicating the request of the *ṛṣi*-s etc. for what remains to be narrated (*kathāśeṣa*) the word *punaḥ* indicates that the purāṇa-s are open to further revelations. But as stressing the desire of hearing the known things in a new form, the word *punaḥ* links the purāṇa-s with tradition. We find, then, in this word the tension, so characteristic of the puranic literature and belonging surely to its very nature, between old and new, the 'already' and the 'not yet'. Through it the puranic authors, indeed, have found the way of inserting continuously new themes in their works without deviating from tradition.

In this same spirit has to be understood the puranic claim to have developed from a single *saṁhitā*[28] narrated and trasmitted from *guru* to disciples and enlarged in successive generations :

शिष्यप्रशिष्यद्वारेण तदेव विपुलीकृतम् ।। (*DBhg*, *Māh.*, 5.93 cd)

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27. This attitude towards the re-listening of old stories and the curiosity for the unknown stories of the past is still very alive among people of today's India.

28. This idea is developed by one of the two puranic theories describing the origin of the purāṇa-s. Cf. A. S. Gupta, Purāṇa-s and their Referencing, *Purāṇa*, III. 2 (July, 1965), pp. 323-326.

This enlargement through subsequent additions is not a phenomenon which took place only in the very beginning of the puranic literature when, according to some purāṇa-s, the one purāṇa became eighteenfolded through re-narration of different disciples.[29] The purāṇa-s speak also of later additions. So *Bhv* I. 1. 103f informs us of the enlarged form reached by the Bhaviṣya itself and the Skanda. The Viṣṇu (III. 6.19) claims to have been made of four previous *saṁhitā*-s and the Māghamāhātmya in the Padma (VI. 219) is clearly said to have been added to the purāṇa. So addition is one of the normal features of the purāṇa-s. Differently from other works, then, the enlargements in the purāṇa-s are the rule, not the exception.

Repetition, as well as narration of any new topic or of the whole purāṇa, can be done either in a long form (*vistareṇa, vistarāt*) or in a short form (*saṁkṣepataḥ, samāsena* etc.). At the beginning of the Matsya Purāṇa it is said :

तत्सर्वं विस्तरेण त्वं धर्मं व्याख्यातुमर्हसि ॥ (2. 24)

'Please, expose all this *dharma* extensively.'
The same concept is repeated in 53.1; 140.2, 85; 141. 1-2 and in several passages of this and other purāṇa-s.[30] But the purāṇa affirms also, in other places, that the topic is narrated shortly, as in *Mt* 140.83 :

समासात् कीर्तितस्तुभ्यं सर्ग एष सनातनः ॥ cd ॥

'This whole eternal (*sanātana*) *sarga* has been celebrated to you in short'.

Sometimes the two ways of narrating are combined as in the following *śloka* :

श्रुतः पद्मोद्भवस्तात विस्तरेण त्वयेरितः ।
समासाद्भवमाहात्म्यं भैरवस्य विधीयताम् ॥ (*Mt* 178.1)

'Creation from the lotus, narrated by you, o dear, at such a full length, has been heard by us; pray, tell us in short about the glory of the Bhairava Bhava.'

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29. See *Bḍ* I. 2.35.63 ff; *Vy* I. 60.1 ff.
30. Cf. *Bhv* I. 6.1; 27.1; IV. 5.84; *A* 37.1; *B* 45.4; 58.9; 176.36; 181.1; *Vi* II. 2.4; 5.1; *DBhg* I. 20.1; III. 26.2; *Vr* 209.95; *Bv* II. 2.1; 48.11; *Vy* 57.1; *Bḍ* I. 1.1. 168-169.

This situation is not peculiar to Matsya Purāṇa; it is present also in Brahmāṇḍa, Viṣṇu, Padma, Bhaviṣya, Brahma[31], etc.

The tension between long and short narration is indeed quite a feature of the puranic texts and poses the problem about the priority of the two characteristics in the purāṇa-s. Statistically the words meaning 'enlargement (*vistarāt, vistareṇa* etc.) seem to be more numerous than those meaning 'summary' (*samāsāt, saṁkṣepāt*, etc.) Yet it is known that in several cases the purāṇa-s summarize topics which are dealt with more diffusely in texts other than the purāṇa-s;[32] the Agni and the Garuḍa Puraṇa-s, with all their different topics taken from other *śāstra-s* are the clearest example,[33] but also other purāṇa-s like the Padma, Nārada, Brahma, etc. contain summaries of the Gītā, the Mahābhārata, the Yogaśāstra-s, the Rāmāyaṇa,[34] etc., and some have even abridgements or epitomes of

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31. *Bḍ* I. 1.35, 40, 174; 2.1.1; 2.35.215; 2.36.2, 81; 2.55.1; III. 4.1.8; *A* 383.65; *Vi* III. 1.3; 3.4; V. 1.2; *Pd* VI. 3.7; 75.19; 246.1; *Bhv* I. 7.1; 127.2; 203.1; 210.84; IV. 13.56-57; 63. 14; *Mk* 1.19; *B* 41.10; *L* II. 55.2; *N* I. 109.38.

32. See, for instance, the Śiva Gitā of the Padma Purāṇa. Cf. Antonella Comba, Un Capitolo della Śivagītā sulla medicina āyurvedica, in *Memorie della Accademia delle Scienze di Torino*, II Classe di Scienze Morali, Storiche e Filosofiche, Serie V, Vol. 5, Fasc. III (Luglio-Settembre, 1981), Torino, Accademia delle Scienze, 1981., pp. 173-223. See also the *nīti*-texts of the Garuḍa Purāṇa; L.Sternbach, Caṇakya's Aphorisms in Purāṇas, *Purāṇa*, Vol. VI. 1 (Jan., 1964), pp. 113-146; *id.*, A New Abridged Version of the Bṛhaspati-Saṁhitā of the Garuḍa-Purāṇa, *Purāṇa*, Vol. VIII. 2 (July, 1966), pp. 315-426; *id.*, *The Mānava Dharmśāstra I-III and the Bhaviṣya-Purāṇa*, Varanasi, All-India Kashiraj Trust, 1974; D. R. Mankad, The Matsya Purāṇa and the Rāmāyaṇa, *Purāṇa*, Vol. VIII. 1 (Jan., 1960), pp. 159-167; K. Damodara Nambiar, *Nārada Purāṇa—A Critical Study*, Varanasi, All-India Kashiraj Trust, 1979; R. C. Hazra, *op. cit.*, passim.

33. See S. D. Gyani, *Agni-Purāṇa—A Study*, Varanasi, Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office, 1964; H. Losch, Die Yajñavalkya Smṛti vergliechen mit den Parallelen des Agni-und Garuḍa-Purāṇa, quoted in *Purāṇa* Vol. VIII. 2 (July, 1960), p. 317.

34. Cf. M. Winternitz, *op. cit.*, pp. 505-506; V. Raghavan, *The Greater Rāmāyaṇa*, Varanasi, All-India Kashiraj Trust, 1973; cf., *Purāṇa*, vol. XXIV. 1 (Jan., 1982), pp. 146-189 etc.

other purāṇa-s too.[35] The problem is more important than it might appear at first sight. In case of a similar passage in two different purāṇa-s or in two different places of the same purāṇa, having two forms, one long and one short, should we be inclined to consider the longer form as an enlargement of the short one or the latter as an abridgement of the former? The answer to this question becomes important when we are confronted with such different versions, long and short, in the MSS. If this doubt about the priority of the longest or shortest form is inherent to the nature of the purāṇa-s, we cannot apply to the purāṇa-s the principle of critical editions elaborated by V. S. Suktankar in his introduction to the Mahābhārata[36] and by S.M. Katre in his *Introduction to Indian Textual Criticism*, Poona, 1954.[37] Both the authors, in line with the common principles of critical editions, take for granted that the shorter text is the most ancient, while the opposite has to be proved. The purāṇa-s seem, instead, to leave the problem always to be proved; it can never be taken for granted in them that the shorter is the oldest. It may be too early to draw conclusions from what is said above but the difference between the purāṇas and other literary works seems to suggest caution in accepting principles discovered for other classes of texts.

2. VEDA-UPABṚHAṆA[38]

The tension between repetition of what has already been narrated and revelation of what is still unknown comes in the purāṇa-s under other forms also. The relation between stability

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35. See *N* I. 92-109; *Mt* 53; *Sk* VII. 1.2.28 ff; *Pd* VI. 189-194; *A* 272.
36. p. XLVII.
37. 'One of the generally accepted rules of textual criticism is that the fuller versions must be assumed *a priori* to be later and the briefer ones earlier.' p. 77. The principle, common to every text-criticism has been accepted without discussion (*a priori*) by the editors of the Mahābhārata, Rāmāyaṇa and other texts.
38. For the whole problem see R. Bhattacharya पुराणगत वेद-विषयक सामग्री का समीक्षणात्मक अध्ययन, Prayag, (Hindi Sahitya Sammelan), 1965; P. V. Kane, *op. cit.*, vol. V. p. 914; Nilameghacarya, धर्मशास्त्रेतिहासपुराणानां वेदोपबृंहणत्वम्, *Purāṇa*, vol. IV. 1 (Jan., 1962), pp. 34-54.

and change is a delicate one and touches deeply the peculiar nature of the purāṇa-s. A field where this puranic nature is evident is the purāṇas-s' relation with the Veda-s. The whole attidude (*sambandha*, *Vi* III. 6.33; *B* 27. 1; *Vy* I. 21.3), rather complex inde d, of the purāṇa-s towards the Veda-s can be reduced to three aspects. The first is the puranic claim of being similar in intents and contents to the Veda-s.

प्रवक्ष्यामि यद्वेदेन निरूपितम् (*Bv* III. 7.22)

The purāṇa-s in many passages claim to be *veda-sammita*, *veda-sammata*, or *veda-sama*[39]. The rare cases in which they seem to be against the Veda-s[40] are to be considered an exception. It is more consistent with the general attitude of the purāṇa-s towards the Veda-s their claim, indeed rare and which they have in common with other branches of literature, of being the fifth Veda.[41] Like the Veda-s, indeed, they claim to be eternal or perennial :

तथा मया मुनिश्रेष्ठाः कथितं हि सनातनम् ।
पुराणं समहापुण्यं सर्वपापप्रणाशनम् ॥ (*B* 245. 14)

'O best of the *muni*-s, I have to narrate to you the eternal purāṇa, which is very meritorious and destroys every sin'.

In the same line of thought the Brahmavaivarta (IV. 129.73) describes the purāṇa-s as having *ekarūpa* and of being *svecchāmaya* (*śl.* 76). The latter adjective is used in the Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa to describe the nature of Kṛṣṇa, i. e., the Supreme. The Padma Purāṇa (I. 62.27) imagines that the purāṇa-s constitute the various limbs of Viṣṇu and makes Kṛṣṇa affirm (V. 36.134 c) :

अहं पुराणं परमम् ।

'I am the supreme purāṇa.'

The first and last colophons of *Pd* V speak of *purāṇavatāra* in utter contrast, at least in words, with the more common way of expressing the origin of the purāṇa-s, namely *purāṇotpatti*. The former describes a 'descent' of the purāṇa-s, which presupposes a pre-exi-

39. See *A* 1.10; 383.46; *B* 1.29; *Bv* I. 1.7, 160; *L* II. 55.2; *Bhv* II. 1.8.1; *N* I. 1.36; 125.26, 37; *Pd* VI. 282. 116; *Vi* I. 1.13 etc.
40. See, for instance, *Bv* I. 1.44 cd-45 ab.
41. *Sk* V. 3. 1.18; *Bhg* III. 12.39; *DDhg* I. 1.16; see also Kauṭilya I. 3.2; Nāṭyaśāstra. 1,2. ff.

stence, the latter underlines their 'arising, birth, production.' The two puranic theories on the origin of the purāṇa-s[42] point out also two different attitudes. One, indeed, speaks of a reduction on earth of millions of puranic *śloka*-s previously available in heaven, done by Hari through Vyāsa. The other considers the purāṇa-s as a product of evolution from one original *saṁhitā*, narrated by Vyāsa to his disciples, to eighteen texts. Like the Veda-s, the purāṇa-s claim to be 'revealed'.[43] The initial revelation in the purāṇa-s is passed over through a long chain of *ṛṣi*-s and *muni*-s etc. upto the writer of the extant *kathā* or purāṇa.

The second attitude of the purāṇa-s towards the Veda-s is visible in the puranic claim of being the essence (*sāra*) of the Veda-s (*N* I. 9.97; *DBhg* XII. 13.26) or in their statement of being meant especially for those who cannot read or listen to the Veda-s.[44] This is equivalent to saying that the deep and real message of the Veda-s is transmitted through, and adjusted by, the purāṇa-s.

पुराणं वर्तते यत्र वेदश्रुतिसमाहितम् ॥

"The purāṇa is where there is the collection of *śruti* and Veda" affirms *B* 213.167, which seems to imply that the purāṇa-s are the complement of the Veda-s. The purāṇa-s, indeed, by claiming to be the explanation of the Veda-s (*vedasiddhārthabodhaka*)[45] down the centuries, aim apparently at being considered the Veda-s of a particular period.[46] In other words, the purāṇa-s claim to be that particular message of the Veda-s needed by the people of a particular time and place. The purāṇa-s are that form the Veda-s would assume if they were liable to transformation.

एतत्ते यन्मयाख्यातं पुराणं वेदसम्मतम् ॥
(*Vi* VI. 8.12)

42. See A. S. Gupta, Purāṇas and Their Referencing, *Purāṇa*, vol. VIII. 2 (July, 1965), pp. 321-351.
43. See Purāṇa Paramparā, *Purāṇa*, vol. XXII. 1 (Jan , 1980) pp. 33-60.
44. See below, p. 106.
45. *DBhg* XII. 14.1.
46. The puranic bases of this statement are the attitude of the purāṇa-s of being considered the fifth Veda, of being the enlargment of, and enlarged with, the Veda-s (*Sk* VII. 1. 2.91; *Mk.* (Veṅk.) 134.18 etc.), of being one vedic *śākhā* (*Vi* III. 6 etc. cf., *L* II. 55.38).

'I have narrated to you this purāṇa, which is equal to the Veda-s.'

This and similar *śloka*-s seem to say that what is narrated by subsequent generations (i.e., the purāṇa-s) has the same meaning (*sammata*) as what has already been said in the previous ones (*veda*-s). The Viṣṇu Purāṇa considers, indeed, the purāṇa-s as one of the *śākhā*-s into which the Veda-s were divided along the centuries.[47] This attitude of the purāṇa-s is better understood with what M. Biardeau says about the puranic cosmogonies :

> ....the general principle is that different elements of different accounts of a cosmogonic myth may have the same symbolic bearing and an equivalent function in the myth. Or, the other way round,....an identical symbolic element may have different bearings and functions according to the myths and its position in the myths.'[48]

All this can surely apply to the purāṇa-s. Their relation to the Veda-s, however, is not limited to this. Their claim is much more complex. In fact, besides the two previously mentioned attitudes towards the Veda-s, the purāṇa-s have a third one which can be summarized in the puranic assertion that the Veda-s are incomplete without the contemporaneous knowledge of the purāṇ-s, because the Veda-s can suffer if no explanation is added to them.

> यो विद्याच्चतुरो वेदान् साङ्गोपनिषदान्द्विजः ।
> न चेत्पुराणं स विद्यान्नैव स स्याद्विचक्षणः ॥ ३९ ॥
>
> इतिहासपुराणाभ्यां वेदं समुपबृंहयेत् ।
> बिभेत्यल्पश्रुताद्वेदो मामयं प्रतरिष्यति ॥ ४० ॥
>
> (*Ś* VII. 1. 1. 39-40; cf *Sk* VII. 1. 2. 93,91; *N* II. 24.18)

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47. III. 6. See also below, p. 111.
48. 'Cela suppose....l'acceptation du principe general que des elements differents de recits differents d'un mythe cosmogonique peuvent avoir meme signification symbolique et une function equivalente dans le mythe; inversement, qu'un element symbolique identique puisse avoir des significations et des fontions differentes suivant les mythes et sa place dans les mythes., *Etudes des mythologie hindoue*, Tome I, Cosmogonies Purāṇiques, *op. cit.*, p. 5 (English translation ours).

'Even if a *dvija* knows the four Veda-s with their *aṅga*-s and upaniṣads, he is not an expert if he does not know at the same time the purāṇa. (39)

He should enlarge the Veda-s with itihāsa and purāṇa. The Veda is afraid of a man who has heard a little (because it thinks) 'This man will deceive me.' (40)

The same idea is expressed in *B* 1.31 :

शृणुध्वं सम्प्रवक्ष्यामि कथां पापप्रणाशिनीम् ।
कथ्यमानां मया चित्रां बह्वर्थां श्रुतिविस्तराम् ।।

'Listen, I shall narrate a *kathā* which destroys sins, it is narrated by me, it is varied, having different meanings and being an extension of the *śruti*.'

The purāṇa-s go even further and claim superiority to the Veda-s.[49]

This third attitude is found in several passages[50] and is to be considered as traditional as the previous two. In contrast with the previous attitude where purāṇa-s affirmed to be the essence itself of the Veda-s, although in a different external garb, the third attitude points out clearly that the purāṇa-s add new matter to the Veda-s. They are more than simply *vedasammata* or *vedasammita*; they are also *veda-upabṛhaṇa* (*K* II. 24.21) or better *vedārthaparibṛhaṇa* (*K* II. 46.136; cf., II. 19.24; II. 24.21), *śrutivistara* (*B* 1.31). Confronting this third attitude with the second one we see that the way of the purāṇa-s of being the 'Veda-s' of a particular time is much more than being a mere claim of being similar to them. The purāṇas are not a mere adaptation of the vedic message to new situations of time and people; they claim rather to add to, and enlarge, the contents of the Veda-s and their meaning. The purāṇa-s, in other words, not only have more and different words than the Veda-s, they have also a different meaning, a meaning which is neither against the Veda-s nor is it equal to them. Once again the nature of the purāṇa-s is particularly apparent in the balance between the relation-tension of past and present, namely in this case, Veda-s and purāṇa-s.

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49. See below p. 98 f.
50. *Pd* V. 268. 2, 51; *Ś* VII. 1.36; *Sutasaṁhitā*, Śivamāhātmya 1.35; *Vy* 1.201.

This situation is well represented by the contrast between two series of very frequent expressions : *yathāśruta*, *yathodita*[51] etc. on the one hand and *yathāpraśna* or *yathāmati*[52] on the other. The first series points out the direct derivation of puranic lore from the past and particularly the Veda-s. Such a relation with the past is indicated almost always when new subjects are introduced and it is hinted at through the presentation of the revealing deity of that subject and its *paramparā*[53] from the first narration of a *kathā* to the writer of the passage. The second series stresses the importance of the specific time in which a particular subject is introduced in the puranic text. A vedic topic is inserted in the purāṇa-s and is by them enlarged and explained according to the capacity of the narrator and the needs of the listeners. The Padma Purāṇa (VI. 242.14) defines this particular aspect of the purāṇa-s, which stresses the importance of the puranic answer to the problems of the listeners, as *praśnottara*. In other words, in the puranic view, the Veda-s are modified so to become suitable to a specific time's requirements. The adaptation, however, is not that of mere transposition of themes or explanation in 'modern' light. Such an adaptation is, rather, done by way of enlargement. It is but natural, then, that the purāṇa-s contain more matter than the Veda-s not only quantitatively but also qualitatively (*vedārthaparibṛhaṇa*).

At this point, then, we are in a position to specify a little the kind of relation-tension between past and present in the purāṇa-s. The purāṇa-s want to have more than the past, not in contrast with it but in a way of expansion of meaning. This may imply that we read more deeply in the Veda-s through the purāṇa-s than through the sheer vedic text. And this clearer understanding is reached not only through a better insight or a larger explanation but rather through expansion of meaning. The people who have gone through the purāṇa-s not only understand better the vedic texts than the people of vedic times, they understand them more deeply also, i.e., they perceive more things. The meaning of the Veda-s is not only explained by the purāṇa-s, it is also enlarged.

51. *Bhg* I. 3.45; *DBhg* I. 3.1ff; *Pd* V. 1.26
52. *Bhg* I. 3.45; XII. 7.5 ff; *Pd* IV. 94.91 ff; V. 36.14, 16; *Ś.* II. 1.1.25; *Vm* 1.61
53. See Purāṇic Paramparā, *op. cit.*

The way in which the *veda-upabṛhaṇa* took place has been studied by B. Upadhyay[54] and R. S. Bhattacharya.[55] It is not necessary to summarize their statements. The two authors are mainly concerned with studying how a vedic *mantra* or a vedic *kathā* found its way and its explanation-interpretation in the puranic lore. Besides all that, we have also to find out the spirit in which such a *veda upabṛhaṇa* was carried out It is exactly in this context that the attitude of the purāṇa-s towards the new, i. e., the unknown, the mysterious, the 'not yet revealed', has to be introduced.

3. REVELATION OF MYSTERIES

The purāṇa-s expressly affirm that they transmit things as yet unknown :

यन्न दृष्टं हि वेदेषु न दृष्टं स्मृतिषु द्विजाः ।
उभयोर्यन्न दृष्टं च तत्पुराणेषु गीयते ॥
(*Sk* VII. 1. 2. 92)[56]

'O *dvija*-s, the purāṇa-s sing what is not seen in the Veda-s, nor in the *Smṛti-s*, nor in either of them.'

The purāṇa-s, then stand clearly complementary to the Veda-s and the *Smṛti-s* and to some extent integrate them. They say what has not yet been manifested and add to the cultural and religious stock their own message and contribution. They do all this by revealing unknown things.

Such things—unknown or not to be revealed—are described in several places as : *nigūḍha*, *guhya*, *gopanīya*, *gopya*, *gūḍha*, *durvijñeya*, *aprakāśya*, *sudurlabha* and especially *rahasya*.[57] By calling the

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54. Purāṇa Vimarśa, *op. cit*, pp. 247-261
55. पुराणगतं वेद विषयक सामग्री०, *op. cit.*, pp. 28 ff.
56. Cf also *N* II. 24.20-21 ab. See the variant in *Sk* V. 1.22-23, which stresses the all inclusiveness of the purāṇa-s and which would go better with what will be said below at pp. 99-100.

    यच्च दृष्टं हि वेदेषु तद् दृष्टं स्मृतिभिः किल ।
    उभाभ्यां यत्तु दृष्टं हि तत्पुराणेषु गीयते ॥
57. Cf *A* 383.40, 51; *B* 30.85; 62.16; 245.39; *Bhg* I. 1.8; *Bhv* IV. 113.1; *Bv* I. 1.54; II. 6.15, 112; 40.3; 48.2.8; III. 13.63; 20.8; IV. 28.112; 35.25, 30; 51.23; 69.2; 79.2; 96.3, 46; 129.255 etc.; *K* I. 1.10-11, 46; 11.19; 29.13;

additions with such terms, the purāṇa-s keep in line with their claim of being religious and authoritative works[58] and find the way of being accepted in all the details they propose. This attitude of revealing things is particularly stressed in the Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa, but it is far from being its own only, as it is found also in the Brahma, Padma, Bhāgavata, Agni etc.

A *kathā*, a *stotra*, a *kavaca*, the ritual of a *vrata* and also a whole purāṇa can be styled as 'secret'. The Śrīmad Bhāgavata (I. 2.3) and the Devī Bhāgavata (I. 3.37) are both defined as *purāṇa-guhya*. The Kūrma (I. 1.46) is *guhyatama*, unapproachable by any being even gods. The Padma ends with the following *śloka* :

इत्येतत्कथितं गुह्यं पुराणं पद्मसंहितम् ।

'So the secret purāṇa related to Padma has been narrated.' Also the Agni Purāṇa (383.40ab) claims to be approachable only by the fortunate ones because it is *durlabha*. The Kālikā defines itself as *guhyāt guhyataram* (1.15), 'the most secret', full of mystery (*sarahasya dharmaśāstram*, 1.8). The Brahmavaivarta reveals what is not available either in the Veda-s or in the other purāṇa-s (गूढं श्रुतिपुराणयोः, *Bv* II. 6.112; गोपनीयञ्च वेदेषु पुराणेषु पुराविदाम् *Bv* IV. 69.2; 75.1; 79.2; 96.4: 111.26 etc.) fully in tune with the *śloka* mentioned at the beginning of this paragraph. This revelation is part of its programme announced at the very outset (*Bv* I.1.54-55) and it is recalled very often throughout the text. The Brahmavaivarta leaves no doubt about its intention of saying something not available in the Veda-s :

विचारो नास्ति वेदेषु (*Bv* II. 67.8a)

'There is no mention in the Veda-s'

or in the purāṇa-s: पुराणेषु निगूढं च (*Bv* III. 1.8)

'and not manifest in the purāṇa-s'

N I. 1.57; 82.34; II. 82.38; *Ś* VII. 2.41.44; *Vr* 189.2; 209.25; 211. 11-12; *Pd* IV. 117.223; VI. 229.4; 251.10, 14; *DBhg* I. 3.37 etc.

(Although not completely synonyms these terms are considered as conveying all the meaning of 'secret and mystery'.

58. Cf *Purāṇa*, vol. XXI. 2 (July, 1979), pp. 121 ff.

or even in the whole world :

गोपनीयं च कवचं त्रिषु लोकेषु दुर्लभम् । (*Bv* III. 37.2)

'A *kavaca* to be kept secret, hardly available in the three worlds.'

The problem of these mysteries (*rahasya*) and secrets (*guhya*) would need longer consideration. But for the purpose of this research it is enough to point out that the *purāṇa-s* along with a clear tendency to propose themselves as *vedasammata* or even as one of the vedic *śākhā-s*, have also a marked inclination to introduce in their text new elements which can be unequivocally styled non-vedic. But the expressions of the Brahmavaivarta mentioned above, seem to stress also another point, namely that the additions in the purāṇa-s are made not only to the Veda-s, but also to other purāṇa-s. In other words, the relation purāṇa-purāṇa in the Brahmavaivarta, as far as the additions are concerned, is similar to the relation Veda-purāṇa we have seen above. A purāṇa, while referring to a particular episode or ritual etc., can purposely 'reveal', i.e., add something not available in the other purāṇa-s. This means that every puranic text can innovate with respect to all the other purāṇa-s. Potentially any purāṇa can repeat what the Brahmavaivarta (IV. 35.25c) affirms of many of its subjects, namely that what is going to be exposed is 'hidden in all the purāṇa-s' :

गूढं सर्वपुराणेषु[59] ॥

We have seen at the beginning of this paragraph that the purāṇa-s want to say things not found in the Veda-s and in the *Smṛti-s*. It is, however, in the logic of the puranic tendency to evolution to reveal things which are new also for the other purāṇa-s. This bent to disclose the unknown, the mysterious, the secret belong to the very nature of the purāṇa-s.

The push towards such a revelation, indeed, is found in the radical unsatisfied yearning of the *ṛṣi-s*, *muni-s*, *prajāpati-s* etc., even after having heard so many *kathā-s*, for more. Such an unsatisfied yearning rouses in them a desire (*kautūhala*) of listening more or once again (*bhūyaḥ*).

श्रोतुमिच्छामहे ब्रह्मन् (variant ब्रूहि) परं कौतूहलं हि नः ॥

59. See also *Bv* II. 48.2, 8; 49.2.

'O brāhmaṇa, we wish to hear because we have a great curiosity', repeats in several places the Brahma Purāṇa (29.2; 34.8; 41.8; 58.9; 214.1).

न तृप्तिमधिगच्छामि जातं कौतूहलं हि मे।

'I am unsatisfied because I have great curiosity', says in the same line of thought Bhaviṣya IV. 150.1.[60] In some passages the connection between the lack of satisfaction and the curiosity on the one side, and the repetition or extension of the narration on the other are expressly stated :

भूयोऽपि कथयास्माकं कथां सूर्यसमाश्रिताम्।
न तृप्तिमधिगच्छामः श्रृण्वन्तस्तां कथां शुभाम्॥ (*B* 33.1)

'Listening to that meritorious *kathā* we are not satisfied; tell us once again (*bhūya*) the *kathā* referring to Sūrya.'

पुनरेव प्रवक्ष्यामि यद्यस्ति तव कौतुकम्॥ (*Bhv* IV. 181.3)

'I shall, indeed, tell once again (*punaḥ*), if you have curiosity'. The requested repetition is very often said to be a secret.

न हि नस्तृप्तिरस्तीह श्रृण्वतां भगवत्कथाम्।
पुनरेव परं गुह्य वक्तुमर्हस्यशेषतः॥ (*B* 176.1)

'By listening here to your *kathā* we do not have any satisfaction; please tell us again completely the secret.'

So a concrete need of the *ṛṣi-s* and *muni-s* etc. is the real cause of revelation of new things, and therefore, of the increase in the bulk of puranic literature.

वक्ष्यामि यदि पृच्छथ। *B* 26.1 "I shall tell if you are asking."

Apparently, then, the purāṇa-s have been enlarged along the centuries because people were not fully satisfied with what was transmitted to them through tradition. They wanted something more, i.e., a fact, a *kathā*, a *vrata*, a *stotra* etc. not yet revealed, still unknown. Or they whished a new presentation of things already known but no longer relevant, perhaps, because of the old garb they had. In other words, the interlocutors in the purāṇa-s ask for modernization through their curiosity, new interests, i.e., their new

60. See also *Bhv* I. 1.68; 122.1; *Bv* IV. 1.4; 28.3; *Mt* 42.31; *Pd* V. 29.3; 30.1; 32.2; 48.4; VI. 42.2; *Vr* 187.1

problems; they want the purāṇa-s to be up-to-date. The purāṇa-s are called upon to give answer to the questions proper to a specific age. The problems are indeed very often introduced as doubts[61] which have to be removed by the puranic authors :

संदेहच्छेदनं कुरु । (*Bv* II. 54.4)

The problem which may occur spontaneously to our mind is to enquire on which basis the puranic authors made the *ṛṣi-s* and *muni-s* etc. use such expressions of non-satisfaction, curiosity, or even doubt. Was this only a literary device to introduce at will new subjects in the purāṇa-s and have them accepted by people or was it for other reasons? The Bhaviṣya Purāṇa has added new topics even very recently and these additions have been defined by Th. Aufrecht as 'literary fraud'.* Should we think that all the additions of the past are also to be styled 'frauds'? The purāṇa-s make no mystery that they are introducing new subjects, they seem to be fully aware—and want us to be[62]—of the changes which take place in them. What was, then, the need of speaking of the particular interests of the interlocutors and of presenting the additions as secrets? The question becomes more important when we see some of these interlocutors ask for an answer to their problems from people they do not even know whether they are sufficiently competent or not to do so. *Pd* II. 13.1, for instance, makes Somaśarma ask of Sumanā a definition of *Brahmacarya*, 'if you know it' (*yadi jānāsi*). The desire of knowing is so strong that the interlocutors are ready to learn from anyone, provided he has enough knowledge. On the other hand the puranic authors want to remain faithful to tradition, as we already know. They give for each purāṇa or specific *kathā*-s, *vrata*-s, *kavaca*-s, etc. a full *paramparā* of *ṛṣi*-s etc. who handed over to them[63] the *kathā* etc. from Brahmā, Viṣṇu or Śiva, the original revealers. They repeat continuously that what they narrate had already been said before (*purā*).[64] In the very act of telling something new they claim to repeat in fact what has already been narrated before. *Pd* II. 125.44 says :

61. Cf *Bv* I. 22.21; *DBhg* I. 18.48; 19.1; *Vr* 187.2
* see the article of L. Rocher in this same issue.
62. See the above mentioned examples at p. 85
63. See Purāṇic Paramparā, *op. cit*.
64. The word *purā* or a similar one is put at the beginning of almost every *kathā*; see, for example, *Vm* 1.11; 2.20; 18.42; 33.5; etc.; *Vr* 3.14; 47.8; 147.16; 206.26 etc.

एकोऽर्थश्चैकभावश्च चतुर्ष्वपि प्रवर्तितः ।
संहितास्वपि विप्रेन्द्राः शेषाख्यानप्रविस्तरः ॥

'O best of the *vipra*-s, the whole extent of the *ākhyāna* has one meaning and one bearing (essence) and it is developed into four *saṁhitā*-s'.[65]

Such a statement needs to be understood in the light of the puranic attitude towards stability and change. Faithfulness to the original is surely clearly wanted by the puranic authors because it gives them a valid support to the claim that the purāṇa-s are *prāmāṇika*-s. The secrets revealed in the 'additions' are not cut off from the previous teaching. They have, rather, a straight connection with it because with it they are '*eko'rtha*', '*ekabhāva*'. The difficulty is to understand what kind of relation exists between their being *eko'rtha* and *ekabhāva* with the old tradition on the one hand and their claiming to be a disclosure of unknown things on the other. We have already seen above an attempt to explain an apparently similar situation in the Mahābharata.[66] It may be here the place to deepen a little the puranic attitude. The purāṇa-s want surely to be the Veda-s of their age for the people who cannot hear the *śruti*. But what does that mean ? The purāṇa-s claim to be, in fact, anterior to the Veda-s :

पुराणं सर्वशास्त्राणां प्रथमं ब्रह्मणा स्मृतम् ।
अनन्तरञ्च वक्त्रेभ्यो वेदास्तस्य विनिर्गताः ॥
(*Mt* 53.3)[67]

'The purāṇa is the first of all the *śastra*-s remembered by Brahmā, and afterward the Veda-s were pronounced by his mouth.'

to be superior to them :

वेदार्थादधिकं मन्ये पुराणार्थं वरानने ॥
(*N* II. 24. 17 cd)[68]

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65. See what says on this topic G. D. Sharma Chaturvedi, Purāṇa-Pariśīlana, *op. cit.*, p. 11
66. See above p. 87
67. See also *Bd* I. 1.1.40cd-41ab; *N* I. 92.22; *Pd* I. 1.45; *Sk* VII. 1.2.18; *Vy* I. 1.54. Remarkable is *Mk* (Mor) 45.20 :
उत्पन्नमात्रस्य पुरा ब्रह्मणोऽव्यक्तजन्मनः ।
पुराणमेतद्वेदाश्च मुखेभ्योऽनुविनिःसृताः ॥
68. See also *Pd* I. 61.64

'O beautiful-faced one, I consider the meaning of the purāṇa-s to be superior to that of the Veda-s.'

They affirm that the Veda-s are based on them, not the opposite :

वेदाः प्रतिष्ठिताः सर्वे पुराणे नात्र संशयः ।। (*Sk* VII. 1.2.90)[69]

'All the Vedas are based undoubtedly on the purāṇa.'

If such is the attitute of the purāṇa-s towards the Veda-s it seems that to present themselves only as the Veda-s of a particular age would reduce their importance. Moreover the revealing of secrets, i e., of things unknown to previous ages points out that the purāṇa-s claim to have overtaken the Veda-s (cf *śrutivistara* of *B.* 1.51). But how ? They claim to be the deposit or repository of every *vidyā*, *kathā*, *śāstra* etc.

प्रवृत्तिः सर्वशास्त्राणां पुराणादभवत् तदा ।। (*N* I. 92.23; *Pd* V. 1.49)

'Then the evolution of all the *śāstra*-s took place from the purāṇa.'

They are made of, or they are full of, all the *śāstra*-s (*sarva śāstramaya*, *Sk* VII. 1.2.4). They contain the essence of the Veda-s and the *śāstra*-s (*N* I. 1. 21; 9. 97; *Bhg* I. 3. 43).

So when the purāṇa-s add something to the previous tradition they do not take it necessarily from the Veda-s, although they aim at being *śrutisammata* or *vedasama*, nor do they take it from outside the tradition, as they want to remain faithful to the past.

पुरापरम्परां वष्टि पुराणं तेन तत् स्मृतम् । (*Pd* V. 2.53 cd)

"Purāṇa" is so called because it is concerned with the handing over of the past". (see also *Bhg* XII 7.8)

The purāṇa-s indeed claim to have been revealed by Brahmā etc. They have come down from *devaloka*, but only partially because much more of them still remains stored there :

अद्यापि देवलोके तु शतकोटिप्रविस्तरम् ।[70]

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69. See also *N* II. 24.17ab; *Sk* VII. 1.2.3-4
70. *Mt* 53.10; *Pd* V. 1.51; *N* I. 92.25; *Sk* V. 3.1.28; VII. 1.2.26

So when requested to tell something new or when they claim to reveal a secret, they need not take the new material from outside themselves. What really happened historically is less relevant. More important is the puranic claim that the new matter is taken out of themselves because they still have so much in heaven to unload and display. The purāṇa-s claim to draw out of their bosom what is necessary according to the requests, the needs, the problems or the interests of a particular age or place. The secret, i. e., the unknown, which is manifested or revealed by them, finds its roots in the purāṇa-s themselves, source of all the *śāstra-s*. The image of a developing three would illustrate the reality in an appropriate way. The image, applied to the Veda-s, which compares each one of the *saṁhitā-s* to the branches (*śākhā-s*) of a tree can be applied also to the purāṇa-s (cf *Vi* III. 6. 31).[71] To adapt the image to what seems to be the situation of the puranic reality we should think of the purāṇa-s like a seed which develops along the centuries. That tree grows or is pruned age after age according to necessity. Each generation will have, however, that amount of revelation which is needed in order to face all the problems peculiar to that very generation, or to a particular place.

The purāṇa-s are, indeed, created by Brahmā to make the aims of life clear to every body :

धर्मार्थकाममोक्षाणां स्पष्टीकरणमुत्तमम् ।
इतिहासपुराणानि मया सृष्टानि सुव्रत ।। (*Bhv* I. 94.57)

They are the source, the seed of such aims : "*caturvargasya bījaṁ ca.*"[72]

The purāṇa-s will never be short of answers because the quantity of *śloka*-s still to be revealed amounts to millions, and is kept in *devaloka* where the gods go on narrating them.[73] Here, perhaps, we find the solution to the above-mentioned relation-tension between long and short, stability and change, tradition and renewal. The purāṇa-s grow like trees : old branches are

71. See also *Bḍ* I. 35.67; *Bhg* XII. 7.25; *L* II. 55.38; *Vi* III. 3.4 ff; 4.15; 6.1; *Vy* I. 1.39 ff

72. *N* I. 92.22; see the variant in *Mt* 53.4; *Sk* V. 3.1.25; VII. 1.2.19; *Pd* I. 1.45

73. *A* 383.65

pruned, things are transformed or removed, new blossoms appear, things are added and the result is a continuously changing living reality, always equal to itself although always different. The purāṇa-s express this idea using the image of old things becoming alive again through the process of *smṛti* :[74]

इति पूर्वं वसिष्ठेन पुलस्त्येन च धीमता ।
यदुक्तं तत्स्मृतिं याति त्वत्प्रश्नादखिलं मम ॥
सोऽहं वदाम्यशेषं ते मैत्रेय परिपृच्छते ।
(*Vi* I. 1.29-30 ab)

'Now truly all what was told me by Vasiṣṭha, and the wise Pulastya, is brought to my recollection by your questions. I tell, you, O Maitreya, every thing as you enquire from me.'

The things come out of darkness through memory; but they need an external occasion which is usually represented by the questions put by the interlocutors.[75] This opens the way to see what are the factors which compelled the puranic authors to make their works change, modify, increase etc.

4. A FEW FACTORS OF PURANIC TRANSFORMATION

The factors which provoked the purāṇa-s to develop are surely many and reciprocally intermingled. If we try here to describe a few of them it is only because they are more evident than others in the puranic texts themselves. They are, namely, *kāla*, *loka* (both in the meaning of people and of place) and *dṛṣṭi*, i.e., the particular point of view or *sampradāya*.

a. इतिहासपुराणानि भिद्यन्ते कालगौरवात् । (*L* I. 39. 61 ab)

'The *itihāsa-s* and the purāṇa-s divide under the influence of time.'

This statement suggests that each age brought its own peculiar modification to the purāṇa-s and *itihāsa*-s. The Padma Purāṇa (II.125. 38-45) affirms that it had one hundred thousand verses in Kṛta yuga, fifty-two thousand in Tretā, twenty-two thousand in Dvāpara, twelve thousand in Kali yuga. And even these last twelve thousand verses will disappear at the end of Kali yuga and the first

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74. Note that the purāṇa-s are said to be *smṛta*-s by Brahmā (see above p. 98, fn 67)

75. See above p. 95ff

number, one hundred thousand, will appear again. Difference of age, then, means also difference of length. Such a difference may imply not only quantity but also a different formulation. This, indeed, may be the meaning of *Bv* I. 1.61 ff, which gives relevance to the different generations of reciters, namely Kṛṣṇa, Brahmā, Dharma, Nārāyaṇa, Nārada, Vyāsa linking each of them with different places, i.e., Kṛṣṇa with Goloka, Brahmā with Puṣkara, Nārada with Jāhnavī's bank. Each *yuga*, in fact, gave its imprint to the whole religious life either by stressing the importance of a particular place :

> कृते तु सर्वतीर्थानि त्रेतायां पुष्करं परम् ।
> द्वापरे तु कुरुक्षेत्रं कलौ गङ्गा विशिष्यते ।। (*N* II. 38.20)

'In Kṛta yuga all the *tīrtha*-s excell, in Tretā yuga Puṣkara, in Dvāpara yuga Kurukṣetra, in Kali yuga the Gaṅgā.'

or by exalting the value of different aspects of the *dharma* :

> ध्यानं परं कृतयुगे त्रेतायां ज्ञानमुच्यते ।
> द्वापरे यज्ञमेवाहुर्दानमेव कलौ युगे ।। 17 ।।
>
> ब्रह्मा कृतयुगे देवस्त्रेतायां भगवान् रविः ।
> द्वापरे दैवतं विष्णुः कलौ रुद्रो महेश्वरः ।। 18 ।।
>
> आद्ये कृतयुगे धर्मश्चतुष्पादः सनातनः ।
> त्रेतायुगे त्रिपादः स्याद् द्विपादो द्वापरे स्थितः ।
>
> त्रिपादहीनस्तिष्ये तु सत्तामात्रेण तिष्ठति ।। 20 ।।
>
> (*K* I. 27.17 ff; cf., L I. 39.7 ff.)

'*Dhyāna* is said to be supreme in Kṛta yuga, *jñāna* in Tretā yuga, *yajña* in Dvāpara and *dāna* in Kali yuga.(17)

Brahmā is the *deva* in Kṛta yuga, Lord Ravi in Tretā, Viṣṇu is the deity in Dvāpara, Rudra Maheśvara in Kali.(18)

The *sanātana dharma* has four feet in Kṛta yuga, three feet in Tretā, two feet in Dvāpara. Deprived of three feet in the fourth *yuga* it stands only by existence.'(20)

For the purāṇa-s, then, as well as for the *Dharmaśātra*-s (see *Manu* I. 85) *yuga*-s have a strong influence on the life of man, his behaviour, his relations with the Supreme, his view of life etc. There is enough to suspect that the transformation of the Padma Purāṇa under the influence of ages, mentioned above, is only an

example of a large phenomenon applicable to the whole puranic literature. The Devī Bhāgavata (I. 3.20) states that the very reason for the composing of purāṇa-s is just the negative influence of Kali yuga :

> अल्पायुषोऽल्पबुद्धींश्च विप्राञ्ज्ञात्वा कलावथ ।
> पुराणसंहितां पुण्यां कुरुतेऽसौ युगे युगे ॥

> 'Knowing that the brāhmaṇa-s during the Kali yuga have short and little mind, he makes the sacred purāṇa-*saṁhitā*' every *yuga*.'[76]

Kāla, then, is responsible for the composition of the purāṇa-s, or better—to remain in the spirit of the quoted *śloka*—of that particular collection of puranic themes (*saṁhitā*) needed in every *yuga*. Time or *yuga*, indeed, seems to be responsible not only for the formation of puranic literature as a whole but also for each different purāṇa. *K* I. 27.18, quoted above, informs us that in each *yuga* one god arises above the others and is particularly praised ; Brahmā is venerated especially in Kṛta, Ravi in Tretā, Viṣṇu in Dvāpara and Rudra in Kali. It is not difficult to suppose, then, that the purāṇa-s laying stress on one of these different gods are supposed to have been composed in that particular *yuga* corresponding to that god. Such a link between a particular purāṇa and a god seems to be confirmed also by what says *Bhv* III. 4.22.45-218. Seen in this perspective the puranic division of the purāṇa-s in *sāttvika*-s, *rājasika*-s, *tāmasika*-s and *saṁkīrṇa*-s[77]—a division which is based on a particular god especially venerated in a purāṇa—appears to be, in fact, a division based on time. The *sāttvika* purāṇa-s underlining the importance of Hari are to be related to the Dvāpara yuga, the *rājasika* purāṇa-s stressing the importance of Brahmā are to be put in the Kṛta yuga, the *tāmasika* purāṇa-s exalting Agni and Śiva are to be put in the Kali yuga, while the *saṁkirṇa* purāṇa-s praising Sarasvatī and the *pitṛ*-s remain unrelated to any specific age. Even if such a connection between a god and the *yuga* is not to be taken too seriously, it remains clear that time and nature of a purāṇa are closely linked. Many purāṇa-s, in fact, are said to be linked with a

76. See also *Bhg* I. 1.21; *Bv* I. 1.12 ff;
77. See *Mt* 53.67 ff; *Pd* VI. 263.81 ff; *Sk* VII. 1.2.87 f. Cf., B. Upadhyaya, *op. cit.*, pp. 89-94

particular *kalpa*[78] : Viṣṇu Purāṇa describes the events of Varāha Kalpa[79], Vāyu of Śveta Kalpa,[80] Bhāgavata of Sārasvata Kalpa[81] and so on. Even single *kathā*-s are sometimes referred to a particular *kalpa*. So in the puranic vision each purāṇa, and each *kathā*, is a witness to a particular period. In fact, the extant purāṇa-s are made to appear on earth '*dvāpare dvāpare*'[82] or '*yuge yuge*'.[83] Also the research on the puranic *paramparā*[84] brings us to suppose that between the supposed revealing deity, Brahmā, Viṣṇu or Śiva, and Vyāsa or Sūta etc. there are several generations of *ṛṣi*-s, *muni*-s, *prajāpati*-s etc. belonging to different times and imposing on the puranic texts their own imprints. So the extant purāṇa-s collect, in perspective, all the ancient times and present them to the listeners. The influence of *kāla* is clearly recognized and accepted by the puranic authors. Additions, transformations, suppressions etc. which took place along the centuries are fully reported by the puranic authors as constituent elements. *Kāla* is in fact an external factor which induces the purāṇa-s to change.

Here also, however, as in all the previously mentioned constituent elements of the puranic nature, we are faced with a kind of relation-tension. We have seen until now that time in the purāṇa-s is a factor of distinction and tranformation. Yet the purāṇa-s say also that they remained always identical to themselves in all the ages :

पुराणमेकमेवासीत् सर्वेषु कल्पेषु मानद ॥ (*N* I. 12.22ab)

'O inspiring-pride one, the purāṇa was one in all the *kalpa*-s.' We have here the same situation as seen before in the previous paragraphs. We know, from what was said above, that this unicity (*eka*) of the purāṇa-s along the centuries is to be interpreted in the sense of a unicity in multiplicity and multiplicity in unicity. The elements brought into the purāṇa-s in different ages help building

78. See *A* 272.1 ff; *Mt* 53.12 ff; *N* I. 92 ff; *Sk* VII. 1.2.28 ff
79. *Mt* 53.16
80. *Mt* 53.18
81. *Mt* 53.20
82. *DBhg* I. 3.18; *N* I. 92.24 etc.
83. *DBhg* I. 3.20; cf *Bd* I. 2.34.4; *Bhg* I. 1.21; *Mt* 53.4; *Ś*. I. 1.12 etc.
84. Cf., *Purāṇa*, vol. XXII. 1. (Jan., 1980), pp. 33-60

up the whole unique Purāṇa, which develops and increases as a living being modifying continuously itself although remaining always identical to itself. This identity of the purāṇa-s with themselves is particularly stressed in the way of conceiving *kāla* seen above. Although many and divided *'kāla-bhairavāt'*, the purāṇa-s remain constantly *'ekam...sarveṣu kalpeṣu'*. In the puranic vision the purāṇa is, indeed, one not only in the beginning, but also along the centuries. The division in eighteen purāṇa-s represents, indeed, only an external development of one unique reality like the branches of one tree and is due to the evolving or to the power of time (*kālenāgrahaṇam, Mt* 53.8; *kālakrameṇa, Sk* VII, 1.2.24). Different is surely the seed from the fully developed tree with all its branches, yet seed, branches as well as trunk form one unity.

b. Besides *kāla, loka* is also considered in the purāṇa-s as one of the factors of development. It seems even that the two factors of time and people can be somehow interchanged as if they were variants of the same idea. The same *śloka*, indeed, is used to express the influence of *kāla* and the influence of *loka* : only one word is changed :

इतिहासपुराणानि भिद्यन्ते लोकगौरवात् ।। (*Sk* I. 2.40.198cd)

'Itihāsa and purāṇa-s are divided under the influence of *loka*'. *Loka*, as *kāla* seen above, is one of the leading factors in the evolution of the purāṇa-s. The purāṇa-s insist on the importance of *loka*, understood here in the sense of people, for the transformation of the text. They, indeed, claim to be popular books as we are told several times. They are composed for the people who cannot understand the depths of *śāstra*-s (*Bhv* I. 1.1.8), they are honoured by them (*Bhv* I. 2.3d, 56-57 ; 156.26), are well known to them (*Bhv* I. 1.13ab, 33cd).

लोकानां हितकामेन संक्षिप्योद्गीतमग्निना ।।

'It was sung in an abridged form by Agni for the welfare of the *loka*-s.'

says Agni Purāṇa 383.65ab. A purāṇa, in fact, says *Bḍ* III. 4.44 is *lokasammata* (in tune with people's mind) and removes all the doubts of the people, according to *Pd* VI. 219 (some MSS). It is narrated by the Lord who is *lokahite rataḥ* (activily intent on the welfare of the *loka*) and is heard by the *ṛṣi*-s, *muni*-s etc. who are *lokānugraha*

kartāraḥ (*Pd* VI. 219.13, intent on promoting the good of *loka*). Even an *adhyāya* or a part of the purāṇa can be particularly venerated or loved by people (*Pd* VI. 175.1).

So we can safely affirm that the purāṇa-s are popular books. They are popular not only in the sense that they want to bring the vedic *vidyā* to those who are not allowed to approach it, like women, śūdra-s and bad brāhmaṇa-s (*DBhg* I.3.21) and explain what is difficult (*Bhv* I.1.18). They are popular in a deeper sense. It is part of their nature to keep always an eye on the people, to be sensitive to their problems. Following the common attitude of the *dharmaśāstra*-s but exaggerating it a little, they say even :

> केवलं वेदमाश्रित्य कः करोति विनिर्णयम् ।
> बलवाँल्लौकिको वेदाल्लोकाचारं च कस्त्यजेत् ।। (*Bv* III. 7.49).

> 'Who takes any decision basing himself only on the Veda-s? The people's (feeling) is stronger than the Veda. Who would abandon the people's usage ?'.

The purāṇa-s, therefore, are open to any suggestion or influence from different people with whom they come in contact and the modification which results through their contact is not a kind of corruption of the text. As we have seen above about time, also the influence of people is only an external factor, which induces the purāṇa-s to evolve, developing themselves to a full blooming tree. It belongs, indeed, to the very nature of the purāṇa-s to change according to the different peoples they meet in their multi-centenarian history. Here also the purāṇa-s seem to be different from all the literary texts which are considered corrupted if they lose their original shape.

The word '*loka*' besides meaning people as seen above, means also world and implies therefore the meaning of place. Place and people are sometimes interchangeable and the purāṇa-s are influenced by, and influence, both. This means that the purāṇa-s change not only according to people but also according to places. As a study on this point has already been made by the present author[85] there is no need of insisting on it again here.

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85. Cf., Places of Purāṇic Recitation According to the Purāṇa-s, *Purāṇa*, XXIII. 1 (Jan., 1981) pp. 48-61

c. When we speak of time, people and place as influential factors of puranic change along the centuries, we have to keep in mind a basic distinction, namely on the one hand the fact that the purāṇa-s were really composed in different times, places and by different people which influenced them both at the beginning of the puranic composition and later during their history; and on the other hand the fact that the purāṇa-s themselves claim to have been composed at different times (e. g. Kali yuga, Dvāpara yuga)[86], in different places (e. g. Puṣkara, Naimiṣāraṇya, Kurukṣetra[87] etc.) and by different peoples (Vyāsa, Sūta, Nārāyaṇa, Parāśara etc.). Our attitude towards these two different series of facts has to be attuned to the different bearing of each one of them. In the former case we have to apply our 'modern' methodology to find out the evolution in time and place of the different purāṇa-s. In the latter case we have to find a way to understand the message the purāṇa-s want to transmit to us through that presentation of difference in time, people and place. The methods used in the two cases must be different, although, in fact, the two series are sometimes intermingled. In any case both the series of statements point to the fact that the three factors of time, people and place influenced the puranic evolution. But this influence has not to be interpreted in the sense that the purāṇa-s were somehow forced to undergo transformation under the irresistible influence of external factors. We have rather to understand these factors of changing as the concrete external means the purāṇa-s found to realize their intrinsic attitude to transformation. The push towards change comes from the nature itself of the purāṇa-s; time, people, place are the external situations or excuses which give the specific occasions to the purāṇa-s for changing. In other words, the purāṇa-s are different in different times and places not against their will, but because they want to adapt themselves to those very different times and places. So when

86. For Kaliyuga see *Bhg* I. 3.44; *Bhv* I. 1.6; *DBhg* I. 1.4 ff; *Ś* I. 1.1.2; *Sk* II. 27.28; for Dvāparayuga see *Bhg* I. 1.4.20 *Bhv* III. 4.25.222; *L* I. 39.64; *Mt* 53.5 ff; *N* I. 92.24; *Ś* VII. I. 1.34 f; *Sk* I. 2.40.195 ff; V. 3.1.27; VII. 1.2.101; *G* I. 215.11.

87. For Puṣkara see *Bv* I. 1.60 f; *Pd* V. 16.5; for Kurukṣetra see *Bḍ* I. 1.17: *Sk* II. 8.1.8; *Vy* I. 1.11; for Naimiṣāraṇya see *A* I. 2; *G* 1.3; *DBhg* I. 2.27; *N* I. 1.3, 28; *Pd* V. 1.10; *B* 1.3; *Bv* I. 1.1; *Bhg* I. 1.4; *L* I. 1.4-8; *Sk* I. 1.12; II. 1.1 etc.

the puranic authors modify the puranic text, they do it very often openly. The attitude of the author of *B* 70-175, who introduces the Gautamī māhātmya, of *Sk* II.8. 1.15, who adds the Ayodhyā māhātmya, of *Pd* VI. 219 which inserts the Māgha māhātmya etc. shows unmistakably that on several occasions the puranic authors were not afraid of showing their own additions. Their very description of purāṇa as *saṁhitā*[88] (collection) stands as a further confirmation of this fact. Most probably, then, the numerous implicit quotations, additions or loans from other texts done without any notice by the purāṇa-s have also to be interpreted in this light.

The clear and natural tendency for adaptation to different situations of time, people and places so characteristic of the purāṇas seems, however, to clash with the other also clear puranic tendency of fixing a canon[89], of determining what a purāṇa is, how long it should be etc. These two apparently conflicting tendencies stand in the flow of the whole relation-tension mentioned previously. We know already from what has been said several times that these two different tendencies are not contradictory, but rather complementary.

It we now keep in mind the contrary/complementary tendencies present in the purāṇa-s and the word *saṁhitā* (see also *saṁgraha*, *N* I. 125.36) applied by the puranic authors to their works, we may try to describe the purāṇa-s as *manuals*. All the extant purāṇa-s are manuals with different characteristics from one another. One purāṇa can be a manual prevalently of *ādhyātmika* subjects like the Varāha, Viṣṇu, of ancient story and tradition like the Vāyu, Brahmāṇḍa, Mārkāṇḍeya, of local traditions like the Skanda, of encyclopedic nature like the Agni, Garuḍa, Nārada, of a particular *saṁpradāya* or deity like the Liṅga, Śiva, Brahmavaivarta etc. The purāṇa-s, then, as manuals, remain always equal to themselves, i.e., always faithful to their nature of being manuals and at the same time always changing, as any manual along the centuries, to present to the people of each age and of each place what they need for their faith, life, knowledge etc., needs which are different from place

88. See *Bḍ* II. 34.21; *DBhg* I. 1.6; 2.37; 3.24 ff; *N* I. 1.16; II. 82.35; *Pd* II. 125.38; *L* I. 1.11; *Sk* VII. I. 1.4, 30; *Vi* III. 6.15; *Vy* I. 60.21 etc.

89. See The Dynamic Canon of the Purāṇa-s, Purāṇa, *op. cit.*

to place, from time to time, from people to people. The purāṇa-s, moreover, as the manuals, may be made up also of passages which were not originally composed for them, but that are taken from other works; at the same time, however, the very arrangement of such passages and their adaptation to a specific new unit, namely the purāṇa itself, constitute the uniqueness of each purana or group of purāṇa-s.

The image of the manual, used here to describe the nature of the purāṇa-s, has to be combined with the one given above describing the purāṇa-s as developing trees. The two images are complementary and try to come close to a description of the nature of the purāṇa-s.

As we have already studied elsewhere, we have to suppose, indeed, that the purāṇa-s have a kind of multi-authenticity, a local and temporal canonicity, modifiable along the centuries and according to different places and people. In other words the dynamic canon of the purāṇa-s, studied in other issues of this same Bulletin,[90] is a leading principle of puranic interpretation.

d. There is finally another factor of changing in the purāṇa-s which appears to be the most important, namely the puranic authors themselves with their different points of view (cf *Bv* I. 28.32 ff; *L* I. 39.53 ff; *Vr* 58.4; 89. ff.; *BrdN* 3.5 ff. etc.). Time, people and place become really factors of transformation only when the puranic authors let themselves be influenced by them. It is, then, to the authors themselves that our attention is to be directed. Now the authors are many and spread along the centuries and in different places. In fact, besides those explicitly mentioned like Parāśara, Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana, Romaharṣaṇa etc., the purāṇa-s bear the imprint of many unnamed authors, who are responsible for the extant text. The puranic passages, indeed, are very often introduced by somebody who does not put his name and who speaks in the first person :

पुराणं संप्रवक्ष्यामि यदुक्तं विश्वयोनिना ।।
(*K* I. 1. 1.)

'I shall expose that purāṇa which was narrated by the one who is the matrix of the universe (Brahmā).'

90. Vol. XXI. 2 (July, 1979), pp. 116-166.

Several times these anonymous authors are called in some manuscripts, reproduced also in printed editions, Vyāsa-s or Sūta-s. It is not infrequent, indeed, to find Vyāsa-s introducing Romaharṣaṇa or others usually supposed to have received the puranic knowledge from Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana, which implies that the Vyāsa-s mentioned are not Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana but a class of *paurāṇika*-s.[91] The Vyāsa-s, who are defined by the Devī Bhāgavata (I. 3.25) :

वक्तारस्तु पुराणानां द्वापरे द्वापरे युगे ।

namely, the reciters of the purāṇa-s in each Dvāpara, are far more than the 28 accepted by a few purāṇa-s[92] as the ancient responsible for the formation of the puranic text in each Dvāpara. Vyāsa-s, Sūta s and the like are spread all over the ages and are really responsible for the actual situation of the extant purāṇa-s. Are these Vyāsa-s and Sūta-s private persons simply well trained in puranic tradition or do they represent something larger ? We have already seen above that the purāṇa-s consider themselves to be one all along history but divided into different sections which are the different purāṇa-s.

The Viṣṇu Purāṇa (III. 3-6) and others link the purāṇas with the Veda-s. Now the Veda-s, according to the puranic texts, were one but had to be divided into four and subdivided into numerous branches because people had become weak :

वीर्यं तेजो बलं चाल्पं मनुष्याणामवेक्ष्य च ।
हिताय सर्वभूतानां वेदभेदान् करोति सः ॥6॥
ययासौ कुरुते तन्वा वेदमेकं पृथक् प्रभुः ।
वेदव्यासाभिधाना तु सा च मूर्तिर्मधुद्विषः ॥7॥

(*Vi* III. 3. 6-7)

'Observing the limited perseverance, energy, and application of mortals, he makes the Veda fourfold, to adapt it to their capacities and the bodily form which he assumes, in order to effect that classification, is known by the name of Veda-vyāsa.' (Transl. by Wilson)

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91. See *Bḍ* I. 1.7; *Bhg* I. 2.1; *Pd* VI. 219. Cf., what has already been written by E. Burnouf, *op. cit.*, p. XXXI; see also passages like *Mt* 134.19 व्यासं संपूजयेत् which refer surely to Vyāsa-s who recited the purāṇa-s down the centuries.

92. Cf., Purāṇic Paramparā, *op. cit.*, pp. 44 ff

The purāṇa-s also, according to Viṣṇu Purāṇa and others, form a section of the vedic evolution, and so what is said of the vedic *śākhā*-s and their authors can apply to the purāṇa-s also. The Purāṇa-s, then, are like vedic *śākhā*-s, in this puranic view, and like the Veda-s, they may be expected to have groups of people following one puranic school or the other. But while we find people belonging to different vedic *śākhā*-s, we do not find any group of people relating themselves to the different purāṇa-s, although there are *paurāṇika*-s, i.e., narrators, who claim to be specialists of one puranic tradition or the other. (see *Bhv* III. 4.25. 48 ff) Shall the parallelism between the Veda-s and the purāṇa-s so much stressed in the Viṣṇu, Brahmāṇḍa, Vāyu not apply to this case ? If the purāṇa-s are kinds of *śākhā*-s of the Veda-s should they not have also the characteristics of the vedic *śākhā*-s ? Moreover, the 18 purāṇa-s are considered like *śākhā*-s of a unique purāṇa, should they not have also particular schools or groups of people who formed them and kept them alive ? The purāṇa-s seem to be silent on all these points.

The Liṅga Purāṇa (I. 39. 53-70) joins the division of the purāṇa-s with both the vedic *śākhā*-s on the one hand and the evolution of the *yugadharma* on the other. In both cases the reason for division is the *matibheda nṛṇām* (*śl.* 53), *dṛṣṭi* (*śl.*59) or *dṛṣṭivibhrama*. For the purāṇa-s, moreover, the passage adds also the factor of time (*śl.* 61). According to this passage, then, the unique purāṇa as well as the unique Veda, gets different *bheda*-s or *śākhā*-s along the centuries because of different opinions of men. There is one purāṇa, as it were one truth, but, there are different purāṇa-s as there were many opinions on it. Each purāṇa, then, makes its necessary contribution to the full understanding of the unique purāṇa. The purāṇa-s, indeed, are several times keen to inform us about the opinions of different authors : *Bv* I. 28. 37ff seems to be one of the clearest examples where different opinions of schools are given. But also *Bhg* I.17.18; XII. 7. 10; *L* I. 39.5, 60; *Bhv* I. 48.23 etc. hint at other points of view different from their own. The different points of view are very often accepted, as it appears from *Bhv* IV. 185 and from all the explicit and implicit loans mentioned above. It seems, therefore, useless to look for real *śākhā*-s in the purāṇa-s organizing people as a vedic *śākhā* does. Yet both the Veda-s' division and the purāṇa-s' division have something

in common. Most probably what is common between the two series of texts is what is mentioned by the Liṅga Purāṇa quoted above, namely the difference of *dṛṣṭi*. The *matibheda* would be, therefore, one of the basic reasons for change in the purāṇa-s. The comparison with the vedic *śākhā*-s shows that the differences produced in the purāṇa-s because of *matibheda* are not the fruit of a private person's whims. They are rather the result of large movements of thoughts. The single purāṇa-s, indeed, as well as the single authors, form a great orchestra, each playing its part and contributing to its capacity.[93] Both the purāṇa-s and their authors are not isolated elements ; they enter in a logic of thought which surpasses each one of them taken singly. They seem to be, indeed, representative of large movements, those very movements known in history as *saṁpradāya*-s. The purāṇa-s, by introducing these *matibheda*-s as the cause of evolution and change, as well as presenting the whole theory of formation of the purāṇa-s, disclose the main source of their continuous transformation. It is the *saṁpradāya*-s, indeed, which can have sufficient men and authority for putting their hands on texts which always claimed to be authoritative and revealed. With this we have reached a point where a long and complicated chapter, namely the role of the *saṁpradāya*-s in the purāṇa-s, opens. The problems involved in this chapter at present are too complex to find a coherent solution. But a reading of R.C. Hazra's *Studies in the Puranic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs*, Dacca, 1940 will be already the first important step towards an understanding of the basic points involved in this problem. The book, indeed, puts clearly in evidence that all the changes which took place in the purāṇa-s along the centuries have their source in the influence of the *saṁpradāya*-s on the puranic texts.

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93. Cf.''B.C. Mazumdar (Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Commemoration Volume, Calcutta University, Oriental, 2, p. 13 f) holds that there was a separate Purāṇa for each Vedic School as there were separate Brāhmaṇas, Anukramaṇīs, Upaniṣads etc., and regards the Agni, Vāyu and Sūrya to be the original Purāṇas connected respectively with the Ṛg-, Yajus-, and Sāmavedas' (A. D. Pusalker, *Studies in the Epics and Purāṇas*, Bombay Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1955, p. LII, cf., also p. 204.

The nature of the purāṇa-s is, of course, far more complicated than what is highlighted in these pages and most of the problems are still to be faced. Here only a few questions linked among themselves and referring mainly to the relation-tension between the purāṇa-s and the Veda-s, past and present, change and immutability, short and long, repetition and innovation, new revelation and tradition have been proposed. The problems faced in this article have been presented in a rather rapid way. But this is hopefully already enough to make everybody aware that the purāṇa-s have their own nature which deserves to be studied and that an appropriate method has to be found for a full comprehension of the whole puranic genre.

ABBREVIATIONS

B	Brahma (Mor Ed.)
Bḍ	Brahmāṇḍa (Veṅk.)
Bhg	Bhāgavata (Gītā Press)
Bhv	Bhaviṣya (Veṅk.)
BṛdN	Bṛhad Nāradīya, ed. by Hrshikeshashastri, Varanasi, Chowkhamba Amarabharati Prakasana, 1975 (2nd ed.)
Bv	Brahmavaivarta (ASS)
DBhg	Devī Bhāgavata (Mor Ed.)
G	Garuḍa (Jīvānanda)
K	Kūrma (Crit. Ed.)
L	Liṅga (Mor Ed.)
Māh	Māhātmya
Mk	Mārkaṇḍeya (Mor Ed.)
Mt	Matsya (Jīvānanda)
N	Narada (Veṅk.)
Pd	Padma (ASS)
Ś	Śiva (Veṅk)
Sk	Skanda (Veṅk.)
śl	śloka
Vi	Viṣṇu (Gītā Press)
Vr	Varāha (Crit. Ed., Varanasi; All-India Kashiraj Trust, 1981)
Vy	Vāyu (Mor Ed.)

KĀŚĪ :

ITS MEANING AND SIGNIFICANCE IN THE LIGHT OF ADVAITA VEDĀNTA AND THE PURĀṆAS

By

S. VIJAYA KUMAR

Advaita Vedānta is the culmination of Indian Philosophy. The basic tenet of Advaita Vedānta is that Brahman alone is real, the world is false and the individual self is Brahman itself and not different from it. The individual self does not, however, know its nature as Brahman and, therefore, is in bondage and suffering. 'That whose nature is non-manifest' is the individual soul. This non-manifestation of its true nature is merely on account of the absence of discriminative knowledge. The difference between the individual soul and the highest Lord is owing to wrong knowledge only and not to any real difference. The cause of the wrong knowledge is ignorance. With the onset of knowledge, ignorance disappears and the individual soul recovers its own position, its *svarūpa*.

Thus, knowledge is the sole means to liberation. The end of all ethical, religious and spiritual discipline is to bring forth this knowledge.

There is, however, a traditional belief that one can attain *mukti* by breathing one's last at Kāśī (*kāśyāṁ tu maraṇānmuktiḥ*). If this statement is taken as literally true, then the natural question that arises is : what is the necessity and use of all the elaborate procedure laid down under the Advaitic scheme of discipline for carrying one from this darkness of *saṁsāra* to eternal light ? Why should one renounce the world ? Why should one not enjoy all the fruits of the world and then die at Kāśī to attain *mukti*[1] ? Moreover does not the Advaitic stand '*ṛte jñānānna muktiḥ*' completely crumble down when we say '*Kāśyāṁ tu maraṇānmuktiḥ*' ?

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1. ननु किमनेन क्लेशसङ्कुलकलत्रादित्यागानुष्ठानेन, यथाकामं वर्त्तमानानामपि वाराणसीमरणसेवानुष्ठेयम् ?

Vedānta-Kaumudī, p. 248.

We find a clarification of these points in the *Skanda Purāṇa-Kāśī Khaṇḍa* and also in the *Padma Purāṇa*. *Kāśī Khaṇḍa* makes it absolutely clear that knowledge of the Reality alone can liberate the soul and nothing else, but in Kāśī, Īśvara initiates the saving knowledge to the departing soul due to which it attains *mukti*[2]. The *Padma Purāṇa* says : Holy places (*tīrthas*), undoubtedly, purify the *antaḥkaraṇa*; this is true in the case of Vārāṇasī also but here with the initiation of the saving knowledge, the individual soul, having realized its identity with Brahman, illumines.[3] In Avimukta, the soul by receiving the saving knowledge, gets liberation from re-birth.[4] In the highly sacred place, Avimukta, for the sake of the release of all, the Lord of the universe is ever ready for initiating the saving knowledge.[5] The Dweller of Kāśi, Viśvanātha, the Lord of the Universe, roams about in the streets of this holy place uttering in the ears of beings who cast off their mortal coils, the sweet '*Rāma Nāma*', the *Tāraka Brahman*, to be drunk by the ear again and again and always to be contemplated by the mind.[6] The word '*Rāma*' signifies that Supreme Reality in whose contemplation, the sages

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2. ब्रह्मज्ञानेन मुच्यन्ते नाऽन्यथा जन्तवः क्वचित् ।
ब्रह्मज्ञानं तदेवाहं काशीसंस्थितिभागिनाम् ।
दिशामि तारकं प्रान्ते मुच्यन्ते ते तु तत्क्षणात् ॥
—Skanda-purāṇa, IV. Kāśi-khaṇḍa, 32-115 & 116.

3. तीर्थान्तराणि क्षेत्राणि मुक्तिपुर्यश्च नारद ।
अन्तःकरणसंशुद्धिं जनयन्ति न संशयः ॥
वाराणस्यपि देवर्षे ! तादृश्येव परन्तु सा ।
प्रकाशयति ब्रह्मैक्यं तारकस्योपदेशतः ॥
— Padma-purāṇa quoted in Kāśī-darpaṇam.

4. अविमुक्ते विमुच्यन्ते तारकज्ञानजन्मना
--Padma-purāṇa quoted in Kāśī-darpaṇam.

5. अविमुक्ते महाक्षेत्रे सर्वेषां मुक्तिहेतुके ।
तारकस्योपदेशार्थं विश्वेशाऽधिष्ठिते स्वयम् ॥
—Skanda-purāṇa, IV. Kāśī-Khaṇḍa, 3.105.

6. पेयं पेयं श्रवणपुटके रामनामाभिरामम् ।
ध्येयं ध्येयं मनसि सततं तारकं ब्रह्मरूपम् ॥
जल्पन् जल्पन् प्रकृतिविकृतौ प्राणिनाम् कर्णमूले ।
वीथ्यां वीथ्यां अटति जटिलः कोऽपि काशीनिवासी ॥

spend their lives in everlasting bliss[7] and with the initiation of this saving knowledge by the Lord of the Universe, the Īśvara, the soul leaving the mortal body in Kāśī, attains *mukti*.

Rāmādvayācārya also in his *Vedānta-Kaumudī* says that in Kāśī, the instruction of Śambhu generates knowledge in the devotee and after securing this knowledge, he attains *mukti*.[8]

We find a number of verses in the *Kāśī-khaṇḍa, Padma-purāṇa* etc. glorifying the greatness of Kāśī, Vārāṇasī and Avimukta. Do these three names signify the same place or three different places ?

According to the traditional verse defining the boundary of Kāśī, quoted in the *Kāśī-darpaṇa*, the area lying within the circle formed by taking Madhyameśvara as centre and the distance from Madhyameśvara to Dehalī Vināyaka as radius, is known as Kāśī.[9] The Madhyameśvara Temple stands about half a mile to the north of Maṇikarṇikā.

The boundaries of Vārāṇasī, Avimukta and Antargṛha which lie within Kāśī have been demarcated as follows :

Vārāṇasī

Bounded by Asi in the south, Varuṇā in the north, Dehalī Vināyaka in the west and the Gaṅgā in the east is Vārāṇasī.[10]

Avimukta

Guarded by Aṭṭāhaseśvara in the east, Bhūtadhātreśvara in the south, Gokarṇeśvara in the west and Ghaṇṭākarṇeśvara in the

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7. रमन्ते योगिनोऽनन्ते नित्यानन्दे चिदात्मनि ।
इति रामपदेनासौ परं ब्रह्माभिधीयते ।।
—Rāmatāpanī Upaniṣad

8. तत्र हि शम्भूपदेशभक्त्या ज्ञानान्मुक्त्युपपत्तेः ।
—Vedānta Kaumudī, p. 248.

9. मध्यमेश्वरमारभ्य यावद्देहलिविघ्नपम् ।
सूत्रं संस्थाप्य तद्दिक्षु भ्रामयेन्मण्डलाकृतिः ।।
—Kāśīdarpaṇa, 32.

Another version of the second line is :
पञ्चक्रोशायतं सूत्रं भ्रामयेत्सर्वतो दिशम् ।

10. दक्षिणोत्तरदिग्भागे कृत्वासिं वरणां सुराः ।
क्षेत्रस्य पश्चिमे भागे तं देहलिविनायकम् ।। Kāśīdarpaṇa, 34.

north is the area of Avimukta of which there is no equal in the whole universe.[11]

Antargṛha

The area lying between Maṇikarṇikeśvara in the east, Brahmeśvara in the south, Gokarṇeśvara in the west and Bhārabhūteśvara in the north, in Avimukta, is the best and highly fruitful.[12]

Thus we find that the area within a radius of ten miles (*pañca-krośa*)[13] from the Madhyameśvara Temple is Kāśī comprising Vārāṇasī, Avimukta and Antargṛha. The *Kāśī-Khaṇḍa* describes Avimukta as the centre of the universe extending over a radius of ten miles (*pañca-krośa*)[14], as a place where the Lord of the universe dwells,[15] as a region that remains elevated even during the dissolution of the world;[16] by leaving the body where one attains *mukti* without any effort;[17] and where Īśvara is wholly absorbed in initiating the saving knowledge.[18]

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11. अविमुक्तसमं क्षेत्रं नास्ति ब्रह्माण्डगोलके ।
रक्षन्ति सततं यत्र क्षेत्रं पाशासिपाणयः ।।
प्राग्द्वारमट्टहासश्च गणकोटिपरीवृतः ।
तथैव भूतधात्रीशः क्षेत्रदक्षिणरक्षकः ।।
गोकर्णः पश्चिमद्वारं पाति कोटिगणावृतः ।
उदग्द्वारं तथा रक्षेद्घण्टाकर्णो महागणः ।। Kāśīdarpaṇa, 35-37

12. पूर्वतो मणिकर्णीशो ब्रह्मेशो दक्षिणे स्थितः । Kāśīkhaṇḍa, 74.48-52.
पश्चिमे चैव गोकर्णो भारभूतस्तथोत्तरे ।
इत्येतदुत्तमं क्षेत्रमविमुक्ते महाफलम् ।। Kāśīkhaṇḍa, 74, 45-46.

13. A krośa is equal to two miles, five krośas is equal to ten miles.

14. अविमुक्तमिदं क्षेत्रमपि ब्रह्माण्डमध्यगम् ।
ब्रह्माण्डमध्ये न भवेत्पञ्चक्रोशप्रमाणतः ।। Kāśīkhaṇḍa, 22.83.

15. यत्र विश्वेश्वरः साक्षात्स्वयं समधितिष्ठति । Ibid., 22.81.
अविमुक्तान्महाक्षेत्राद्विश्वेशसमधिष्ठितात् ।। Ibid., 22.82.

16. तथा तथोन्नयेदीशस्तत्क्षेत्रं प्रलयादपि । Kāśīkhaṇḍa, 22.84.

17. अनायासेन वै मुक्तिः काश्यां देहावसानतः । Kāśīkhaṇḍa, 22.80.

18. अत्रोत्क्रमणकालेऽहं स्वयमेव द्विजोत्तमाः ।
दिशामि तारकं ब्रह्म देही स्याद्येन तन्मयः ।। Kāśīkhaṇḍa, 64.99.
नाऽविमुक्ते मृतः कश्चिन्नरकं याति किल्बिषी ।
ईश्वरानुगृहीता हि सर्वे यान्ति परां गतिम् ।।
Padma Purāṇa-Svarga Khaṇḍa, 33.21
Also Kūrma Purāṇa, 31.34.

While the vivid description of Kāśī, Vārāṇasī and Avimukta contained in *Kāśī-Khaṇḍa*, *Padma Purāṇa* etc., is greatly alluring and encouraging to an aspirant of *mokṣa*, *prima facie*, the whole theory of attaining *mukti* simply by breathing the last in this holy place seems to be absurd. Firstly, the very idea that Īśvara has chosen a particular place in this extensive world to impart the saving knowledge and rescue from this *saṁsāra* is incomprehensible. How can we limit the limitless mercy of Īśvara ? Why God, the all-powerful and the all-merciful, has chosen this very place, viz., Kāśī, for the initiation of the saving knowledge ? Could He not reveal the truth to others not staying or dying at Kāśī? If He could, why He does not ? Is His mercy partial to certain people judged by the place of their residence? It may be that God is both omnipotent and essence of goodness and yet He reveals the truth to the people dying at Kāśī because difference does not lie on the part of the God but on the part of pupils, dying at Kāśī ; they alone are fit persons to receive the saving knowledge. The pre-requisit for the knowledge of non-dual reality is available in them only.

The supporter of the theory of *mukti* by death in Kāsī can argue that a person coming to Kāśī for breathing his last does so with the desire for release and he gets the shelter of Īśvara himself. Thus, he fulfils the three rare conditions set forth by Śaṅkara as a pre-requisite for enabling one to achieve *mukti*, viz., (i) birth as a human being (*manuṣyatva*), (ii) desire for release (*mumukṣatva*), and (iii) shelter or association of great persons (*mahāpuruṣasaṁśraya*).[19] The moment he dies, Kālabhairava subjects him to intense suffering for a *muhūrta* by which he becomes free of all sins. Then the saving knowledge is initiated by Īśvara and the Jīva attains *mukti*. This argument is also untenable, for, a person fulfilling the requisite conditions can attain *mukti* elsewhere also. Why should he come to Kāśī to breathe his last? Secondly, how can we say that thousands of persons who have their residence at Kāśī are all desirous of *mokṣa*? How can the persons deeply involved in worldly affairs in Kāśī just like similar persons living elsewhere can attain *mukti* only by virtue

19. दुर्लभं त्रयमेवैतद्देवानुग्रहहेतुकम् ।
मनुष्यत्वं मुमुक्षुत्वं महापुरुषसंश्रयः ।। Viveka cūḍāmaṇi, 3.

19a One muhūrta is equal to forty-eight minutes.

of their death in Kāśī? So, to ascribe the special quality of providing *mukti* to any physical place is not logically possible.

In fact, the terms Kāśī and Vārāṇasī are superphysical and spiritual. The city of Kāśī or Vārāṇasī stands only as a symbolic representation of a subtle philosophical point.

We find an interesting dialogue between Atri and Yājñavalkya in the *Jābālopaniṣad* and also in the *Rāmottaratāpinī Upaniṣad* from which we can understand what exactly the word 'Vārāṇasī' means.

Atri questioned Yājñavalkya : How may I recognise this Infinite, Unmanifest Self? Yājñavalkya answered : Meditate on Him in the region which He never leaves, wherein He always abides. Where is that region? Between Varaṇā and Nāsī. What is Varaṇā and what is Nāsī? That which relieves one of all wrongs done by the sense-organs is Varaṇā and that which destroys all sins committed by the sense-organs is Nāsī.

"Particularise that region. The junction point of the two eyebrows and the root of the nose; at this point of junction (*sandhi*) this world touches the other. The knowers of Brahman, performing their *sandhyā* meditation, here attain clear vision."[20]

In his commentary to the *Brahma Sūtra* 'आमनन्ति चैनमस्मिन्' (1.2.32), Śaṅkara refers to the *Jābāla Upaniṣad* and says :

> "The Jābālas speak in their text of the highest Lord as being in the interstice between the top of the head and the chin. 'The unevolved infinite Self abides in the *avimukta* (i.e. the non-released soul). Where does that *avimukta* abide?

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20. अथ हैनमत्रिः पप्रच्छ याज्ञवल्क्यं य एषोऽनन्तोऽव्यक्त आत्मा तं कथमहं विजानीयामिति । स होवाच याज्ञवल्क्यः सोऽविमुक्ते उपास्यः । य एवोऽनन्तोऽव्यक्त आत्मा सोऽविमुक्ते प्रतिष्ठित इति । सोऽविमुक्तः कस्मिन्प्रतिष्ठित इति । वरणायां नाश्यां च मध्ये प्रतिष्ठित इति । का वै वरणा का च नाशीति । सर्वानिन्द्रिय कृतान्दोषान् वारयतीति तेन वरणा भवतीति । सर्वानिन्द्रियकृतान्पापान्नाशयतीति तेन नाशी भवतीति ।

कतमच्चास्य स्थानं भवतीति । भ्रुवोर्घ्राणस्य च यः सन्धिः स एष द्यौर्लोकस्य परस्य च सन्धिर्भवति इति । एतद्वै सन्धि सन्ध्यां ब्रह्मविद उपासते इति सोऽविमुक्त उपास्य इति । सोऽविमुक्तं ज्ञानमाचष्टे यो वैतदेवं वेदेति । Jābālopaniṣad and also Rāmottaratāpinī Upaniṣad

It abides in the Varaṇā and the Nāsī, in the middle. What is that Varaṇā, what is that Nāsī?' The text thereupon etymologises the term Varaṇā as that which wards off (*vārayati*) all evil done by the senses, and the term Nāsī as that which destroys (*nāśayati*) all evil done by the senses; and then continues, 'And what is its place? The place where the eyebrows and the nose join, that is the joining place of the heavenly world (represented by the upper part of the head) and the other (i.e. the earthly world represented by the chin).' Thus it appears that scriptural statement which ascribes to the highest Lord the measure of a span is appropriate."[21]

The meaning of the word 'Varaṇā', being given as eyebrows and that of 'Nāsī' as nose, we find that Vārāṇasī means the space between the eyebrows and the nose which is said to be the seat of the Supreme Lord. To attain *mukti* one has to breathe his last at this point.

The *Bhagavad-Gītā* also says:

"He who, at the time of death, draws together, with steady mind, full of devotion and by the power of yoga, his life energy (breath) in the middle of the eyebrows, goes to the spirit transcendent and Divine."[22]

Śaṅkara explains this verse thus:

"At the time of death, with a mind that does not waver and with devotion (bhakti) and power of yoga—i. e., steadiness of the mind which is the outcome of the effects (refine-

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21. आमनन्ति चैनं परमेश्वरमस्मिन्मूर्ध्वचुबुकान्तराले जाबालाः—'य एषोऽनन्तोऽव्यक्त आत्मा सोऽविमुक्ते प्रतिष्ठित इति । सोऽविमुक्तः कस्मिन्प्रतिष्ठित इति । वरणायां नास्यां च मध्ये प्रतिष्ठित इति । का वै वरणा का च नासीति' । तत्र चेमामेव नासिकां वरणा नासीति निरुच्य या सर्वाणीन्द्रियकृतानि पापानि वारयतीति सा वरणा, सर्वाणीन्द्रियकृतानि पापानि नाशयतीति सा नासीति । पुनरामनन्ति—'कतमच्चास्य स्थानं भवतीति । भ्रुवोर्घ्राणस्य च यः सन्धिः स एष द्युर्लोकस्य परस्य च संधिर्भवतीति ।
ब्रह्मसूत्र शांकरभाष्यम्, I. ii. 32.

22. प्रयाणकाले मनसाऽचलेन भक्त्या युक्तो योगबलेन चैव ।
भ्रुवोमध्ये प्राणमावेश्य सम्यक् स तं परं पुरुषमुपैति दिव्यम् ।।
Bhagavad-Gītā, VIII. 10.

ment) gained through constant practice of *samādhi*—the mind is first of all subdued in the lotus of the heart. Then, by means of the vein going upward (i. e., Suṣumnā) after gaining control over the rudiments of nature (such as earth, water etc.), the life-breath is gradually raised and fixed in between the eyebrows. Thus, the wise yogi attains to the Resplendent Puruṣa of the characteristics such as *kavi* (Omniscient) and *purāṇa* (Ancient) etc."[23]

We find another explanation also of the term Vārāṇasī in the *Skanda Purāṇa, Kāśī-Khaṇḍa.* The Iḍā nerve is symbolised by Asi and Piṅgalā nerve is symbolised by Varaṇā; their meeting place is Vārāṇasī, symbolising the Suṣumnā nerve. Hara (Īśvara) reveals the secret of the Supreme to the soul that has reached this region, Vārāṇasī, at the moment of its quitting the body of flesh and blood. Securing the knowledge, the soul becomes Brahman.[24]

It may be mentioned here that Iḍā and Piṅgalā are two blood vessels in the human body and Suṣumnā is a particular artery said to be lying between them. Suṣumnā is also known as Brahmanāḍī. Piṅgalā and Suṣumnā play a vital role in *prāṇāyāma*(breath-control). The life-breath is borne by Iḍā and Piṅgalā and when the life breath is brought together in between the eyebrows where lies the Suṣumnā or Vārāṇasī, the Self becomes merged in Brahman.

As the *Kaṭhopaniṣad* says there are a hundred and one channels of the heart. One of these, Suṣumnā, passes upto the crown of the head. Going up by it, one goes to immortality.[25]

So far we have discussed the super-physical meaning of the term 'Vārāṇasī'. Let us now see what the term 'Kāśī' means. The

23. Bhagavadgītā, Śaṅkara Bhāṣya, VIII. 10.

24. स होवाचेति जाबालिरारुणेऽसिरिडा मता ।
वरणा पिङ्गला नाडी तदन्तस्त्वविमुक्तकम् ॥
सा सुषुम्णा परा नाडी त्रयं वाराणसी त्वसौ ।
तदत्रोत्क्रमणे सर्वजन्तूनां हि श्रुतौ हरः ॥
तारकं ब्रह्म व्याचष्टे तेन ब्रह्म भवन्ति हि ।
Skanda-Purāṇa, Kāśīkhaṇḍa, 5.25-27.

25. शतं चैका च हृदयस्य नाड्यस्तासां मूर्धानमभिनिःसृतैका ।
तयोर्ध्वमायन्नमृतत्वमेति विष्वङ्ङन्या उत्क्रमणे भवन्ति ॥
Kaṭhopaniṣad, II. iii. 16.

word 'Kāśī' means one that illumines (काशते or काश्यते इति काशी). It is the Supreme Brahman that illumines everything in this world.[26] So Kāśī means the Supreme Brahman. Śaṅkara clearly says : Kāśī illumines at Kāśī; Kāśī illumines everything; one who has known that Kāśī, attains Kāśī.[27]

The Brahmanāḍī, the Suṣumnā nerve, is the co-efficient, the prime vehicle of *cit-śakti*, consciousness, whereby all things are illumined. Hence it is the Kāśī, the illuminator.[28] That Kāśī is eternal, indestructible even during *mahāpralayas*, clearly indicates that it is nothing but Brahman itself. As Śaṅkara puts it : the retirement of the mind from the cravings of sense, and calm and contentment—that is the true Maṇikarṇikā; the limpid stream of unerring knowledge is the Gaṅgā; and the luminous consciousness of the identity of the individual with the Universal Self is the real Kāśī.[29]

Kāśī is available everywhere to one who seeks for it. One who is well-established in Kāśī attains *mukti* wherever he may be.[30] The *karmas* of one who holds Kāśī in his heart, become rootless.[31] Those who constantly drink the nectareous name of Kāśī find their path filled with the immortalizing nectar.[32]

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26. तमेव भान्तमनुभाति सर्वं तस्य भासा सर्वमिदं विभाति ।।
Muṇḍakopaniṣad, II. ii. 10.

27. काश्यां हि काश्यते काशी काशी सर्वप्रकाशिका ।
सा काशी विदिता येन तेन प्राप्ता हि काशिका ।। Kāśīpañcakam.

28. चिच्छक्तिर्ब्रह्मनाडी च सुषुम्ना ज्ञानकाशिनी ।
ययेदं काश्यते सर्वं सा काशी परिकीर्त्यते ।।
Quoted in the Śabdakalpadruma.

29. मनोनिवृतिः परमोपशान्तिः सा तीर्थवर्या मणिकर्णिका च ।
ज्ञानप्रवाहा विमलादिगंगा सा काशिकाऽहं निजबोधरूपा ।।
Kāśīpañcakam.

30. काशी काशीति काशीति जपतो यस्य संस्थितिः ।
अन्यत्रापि सतस्तस्य पुरो मुक्तिः प्रकाशते ।।
Skanda Purāṇa, Kāśīkhaṇḍa, 64.38.

31. येन बीजाक्षरयुगं काशीति हृदि धारितम् ।
अबीजानि भवन्त्येव कर्मबीजानि तस्य वै ।। ibid., 64.37

32. काशी नाम सुधापानं ये कुर्वन्ति निरन्तरम् ।
तेषां वर्त्म भवत्येव सुधामव सुधामयम् ।। ibid., 55.52

Thus we find that Kāśī is nothing but the self-luminous Brahman. There is, therefore, no contradiction at all in the two statements ऋते ज्ञानान्न मुक्तिः and काश्यां तु मरणान्मुक्तिः.

Another important point that needs our consideration in this connection relates to *tīrthas*, holy places. A number of *tīrthas* have been mentioned within the city of Kāśī itself. Then we find, in the Purāṇas, the description of several *tīrthas* spread over throughout India. A pilgrimage to the various *tīrthas* is prescribed to get oneself purified. Are these pilgrimages really efficacious? Will a person be really purified by taking bath in the holy tanks and rivers situated in the holy places and described in the Purāṇas? The *Skanda Purāṇa, Kāśīkhaṇḍa* provides the answer thus :

The washing of the body of flesh in any or all the waters is not washing enough. The mind must be washed clean. One who has controlled the senses and whose mind is pure, is washed. One who is greedy, cruel, ostentatious, indulging in worldly pleasures, or a back-biter, remains as such even by bathing in all *tīrthas*.[33]

Truthfulness, forgiveness, control of the senses, internal and external, compassion towards all beings, straightforwardness, charity, contentment, continence, loving words, wisdom, fortitude, physical endurance and mental discipline, service of others; these are the true *tīrthas*, the ferries by which the soul may cross beyond the ills of life. The *Tīrtha* of all *tīrthas* is the purity of a loving mind. By bathing in these *Tīrthas*, an individual attains the Supreme Object.[34]

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33. न जलाप्लुतदेहस्य स्नानमित्यभिधीयते ।
स स्नातो यो दमस्नातः शुचिः शुद्धमनोमलः ॥
यो लुब्धः पिशुनः क्रूरो दाम्भिको विषयात्मकः ।
सर्वतीर्थेष्वपि स्नातः पापो मलिन एव सः ॥
—Skanda-Purāṇa, Kāśīkhaṇḍa, 6. 33-34

34. शृणुतीर्थानि गदतो मानसानि ममानघे ।
येषु सम्यङ्नरः स्नात्वा प्रयाति परमां गतिम् ॥
सत्यं तीर्थं क्षमा तीर्थं तीर्थमिन्द्रियनिग्रहः ।
सर्वभूतदया तीर्थं तीर्थमार्जवमेव च ॥
दानं तीर्थं दमस्तीर्थं सन्तोषस्तीर्थमुच्यते ।
ब्रह्मचर्यं परं तीर्थं तीर्थञ्च प्रियवादिता ॥

Not by washing the dirt of the body, but the dirt of the mind, one becomes pure. One who washes the dirt of attachment and hatred, likes and dislikes by bathing in the *mānasa-tīrtha* described above attains the Supreme Object.[35]

At the same time, as some parts of the living organism are nobler than the other, as the head is reputed the noblest of them all, even so some spots of the earth have greater virtue than the others. Because of special emanations and force radiations from special spots on the earth's surface and because of the peculiar magnetic virtues of special streams and waters, and more because of the abiding on near them of virtuous *munis*, who radiate from their holy persons the literal odours of sanctity and act as founts of wisdom, the various *tīrthas* obtain their holiness and power to help. He who bathes in both, the inner and the outer *tīrthas*, attains without fail the region of highest happiness.[36]

Bathing in the inner *tīrthas* is, in essence, nothing but training in, and observance of, the Advaitic discipline. As the *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad* declares, only with true austerity (*tapas*) one can appreh-

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ज्ञानं तीर्थं धृतिस्तीर्थं तपस्तीर्थमुदाहृतम् ।
तीर्थानामपि तत्तीर्थं विशुद्धिर्मनसः परा ॥
एतत्ते कथितं देवि ! मानसं तीर्थलक्षणम् ।
—Skanda-Purāṇa, Kāśīkhaṇḍa, 6.29-32 & 42

35. न शरीरमलत्यागान्नरो भवति निर्मलः ।
मानसे तु मले त्यक्ते भवत्यन्तः सुनिर्मलः ॥
ध्यानपूते ज्ञानजले रागद्वेषमलापहे ।
—Skanda Purāṇa, Kāśīkhaṇḍa, 6. 35 & 41

36. भौमानामपि तीर्थानां पुण्यत्वे कारणं श्रृणु ।
यथा शरीरस्योद्देशाः केचिन्मेध्यतमाः स्मृताः ।
तथा पृथिव्यामुद्देशाः केचित्पुण्यतमाः स्मृताः ॥
प्रभावादद्भुताद्भूमेः सलिलस्य च तेजसा ।
परिग्रहान्मुनीनाञ्च तीर्थानां पुण्यता स्मृता ॥
तस्माद्भौमेषु तीर्थेषु मानसेषु च नित्यशः ।
उभयेष्वपि यः स्नाति स याति परमां गतिम् ॥
—Skanda-Purāṇa, Kāśīkhaṇḍa, 6. 42-45.

end one's own Self.[37] That Self, hidden in all beings, does not shine forth; it can be seen only by subtle seers with superior and subtle intellect.[38] It is beyond the comprehension of the senses; so it is not visible to a person whose mind and intellect are not cultivated and purified.[39] None else except the wise (i. e., those who have made themselves fit by controlling their mind and senses by observing the advaitic discipline) can perceive that Inner Soul, the One Controller, who makes his one form manifold, as standing on oneself and they alone can have eternal happiness aud no others.[40]

Where does He stand in oneself? A person of the measure of a thumb is the inner soul (*antarātman*), ever seated in the heart of the creatures. He is framed by the heart, by the thought, by the mind. They who know That, become immortal.[41] This space that is within the heart-therein is the person, consisting of mind (*mano-maya*), immortal, resplendent.[42]

A question arises whether the person of the size of a thumb mentioned in the Upaniṣadic text is the individual Self or the

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37. तिलेषु तैलं दधनीव सर्पिरापः स्रोतःस्वरणीषु चाग्निः ।
एवमात्मात्मनि गृह्यतेऽसौ सत्येनैनं तपसा योऽनुपश्यति ॥
—Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad, I. 15.

38. एष सर्वेषु भूतेषु गूढोत्मा न प्रकाशते ।
दृश्यते त्वग्रया बुद्धया सूक्ष्मया सूक्ष्मदर्शिभिः ॥
—Kaṭhopaniṣad, I. iii. 12.

39. इन्द्रियेभ्यः परा ह्यर्थाः । असंस्कृत बुद्धेरविज्ञेयः ।
—Śāṅkara Bhāṣya on ibid.

40. एको वशी सर्वभूतान्तरात्मा एकं रूपं बहुधा यः करोति ।
तमात्मस्थं येऽनुपश्यन्ति धीरास्तेषां सुखं शाश्वतं नेतरेषाम् ॥
—Kaṭhopaniṣad, II. ii. 12.

41. अङ्गुष्ठमात्रः पुरुषोऽन्तरात्मा सदा जनानां हृदये संनिविष्टः ।
हृदा मन्वीशो मनसाभिक्लृप्तो य एतद्विदुरमृतास्ते भवन्ति ॥
—Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad, III. 13.

also, अङ्गुष्ठमात्रः पुरुषो मध्य आत्मनि तिष्ठति ।
—Kaṭhopaniṣad, II. i. 12.

42. स य एषोऽन्तर्हृदय आकाशः । तस्मिन्नयं पुरुषो मनोमयः ।
अमृतो हिरण्मयः ।
—Taittirīya Upaniṣad, I. vi. 1.

Supreme Self. *Prima facie,* the scriptures would not ascribe the measure of a span to the Supreme Self which is infinite length and breadth. Śaṅkara replies that the person a thumb long can only be the Highest Lord. The measure of a span is ascribed to the Highest Lord, although omnipresent with reference to his abiding within the heart ; just as to ether (space) the measure of a cubit is ascribed with reference to the joint of a bamboo. The measure of a span cannot be ascribed directly to the Highest Self which exceeds all measure, but here it cannot mean anything else except the Highest Lord. But an objection may be raised : the size of the heart varies in the different classes of living beings, then how can we maintain the declaration of the Highest Self being of the size of a thumb with reference to the heart. To this objection the second of the sūtras replies : on account of men (only) being entitled. Śaṅkara further explains that as men (only) are entitled to study and practise the *Śāstras* the highest Self, may, with reference to its dwelling in the human heart, be spoken of as being of the size of a thumb. In reply to the reasoning that on account of the statement of size and on account of Smṛti we can understand by him who is of the size of a thumb the transmigrating soul only, we remark that analogously to such passages as 'That is the Self', 'That art thou', our passage teaches that the transmigrating soul which is of the size of a thumb is (in reality) Brahman. For, the Vedānta passages have a twofold purport ; some of them aim at teaching the unity of the individual soul with the highest Self. Our passage teaches the unity of the individual soul with the highest Self, not the size of anything. This point is made further clear in the Upaniṣad ; 'The person of the size of the thumb, the inner Self, is always settled in the hearts of men. Let a man draw that Self forth from his body with steadiness, as one draws the pith from a reed. Let him know that Self as the bright, as the immortal.[43]

The Taittirīyopaniṣad gives a more elaborate account in this regard :

"The limitless, changeless, all-knowing, the cause of the happiness of the world, the end of all striving, the end of the sea of *saṁsāra,* is dwelling in the heart which is like an inverted bud of the lotus flower. That heart is located at a distance of a finger span below the Adam's apple and above the navel. Shining like

43. Śankara Bhāṣya on Brahma Sūtra, I. iii. 24 & 25

a garland of flames, it is the great abode of the Universe (*viśvasya āyatanam*). This heart, which is like a lotus bud suspended in an inverted position, is surrounded by arteries. Near it there is a narrow space.* In it everything is supported. In the middle of that narrow space of the heart (or suṣumnā), remains the undecaying, all-knowing, omni-faced, Great Fire, which has flames on every side, which consumes the food presented before it, which remains assimilating the food consumed, the rays of which spread scattering themselves vertically and horizontally and which warms its own body from the insole to the crown.

In the centre of that Fire which permeates the whole body, there abides a tongue of Fire, of the colour of shining gold, which is the topmost among the subtle, which is dazzling like the flash of the lightning that appears in the middle of a rain-bearing cloud, which is as slender as the awn of a paddy grain and which serves as a comparison to illustrate subtlety.

Paramātmā dwells in the middle of that flame. He is Brahmā, He is Śiva, He is Hari, He is Indra, He is Akṣara (the Lord who is the efficient and the material cause of the universe), He is the Supreme Self-luminous Pure consciousness[44]".

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* Sāyana tells us that this narrow space is the Suṣumnā nāḍī.

44. अनन्त मव्ययं कवि समुद्रेन्तं विश्वशंभुवम् ।
पद्मकोश प्रतीकाश हृदयं चाप्यधो मुखम् ।।
अधो निष्ट्या वितस्त्यान्ते नाभ्यां मुपरि तिष्ठति ।
ज्वाल मालाकुलं भाती विश्वस्यायतनं महत् ।।
सन्ततं शिलाभि स्तु लंबत्या कोश सन्निभम् ।
तस्यान्ते सुषिरं सूक्ष्मं तस्मिन्त्सर्वं प्रतिष्ठितम् ।।
तस्य मध्ये महानग्निः विश्वार्चि विश्वतो मुखः ।
सोग्रं भुग्विभंजन् तिष्ठन्नाहार मजरः कविः ।।
तिर्यगूर्ध्व मधश्शायी रश्मयस्तस्य सन्तता ।।
सन्तापयति स्वंदेह मापाद तल मस्तगः ।
तस्य मध्ये वह्नि शिखा अणीयोर्ध्वा व्यवस्थितः ।।
नीलतोयद मध्यस्था विद्युल्लेखेव भास्वरा ।
नीवार शूकवत्तन्वी पीताभा स्वत्यणूपमा ।।
तस्यां शिखाया मध्ये परमात्मा व्यवस्थितः ।
स ब्रह्म स शिवस्सहरिस्सेन्द्रस्सोक्षरः परमस्वराट् ।।

—**Taittirīya Āraṇyaka, 10th Praśna.**

Thus, we find that the body of man is the temple of God; herein lie all the *tīrthas*, the holy places; herein lies the holy Kāśī, the Avimukta Vārāṇasī and by keeping the mind and the senses clean and pure by washing them in the *mānasa tīrthas*, one can see the Light within and attain one's own *svarūpa* of Eternal Bliss.

[The theme treated of in this article was deemed so essential that it was discussed by some of the authors of Dharmaśāstra, such as Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa (in त्रिस्थलीसेतु), Nāgeśabhaṭṭa (in तीर्थेन्दुशेखर) Mitramiśra (in तीर्थप्रकाश) and Nandapaṇḍita (in काशी प्रकाश) or काशी प्रकाशतत्त्व, not published) Sureśvarācārya, the great advaita scholar, also dealt with the question elaborately in his काशीमृतिमोक्षविचार or मोक्षनिर्णय—Editor]

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF A PASSAGE ON VĀGDOṢAS OCCURRING IN THE MAHĀBHĀRATA AND THE SKANDAPURĀṆA

By

RAM SHANKAR BHATTACHARYA

I

A passage on *vāgdoṣas* (along with kindred matters) in more or less identical words is found in both the Śāntiparvan of the Mahābhārata and the Kumārikākhaṇḍa of the Skandapurāṇa.[1] Though it is generally held that the readings in the Mahābhārata are better than the readings in the Purāṇas, yet in the present case the Epic readings seem to be inferior to the readings in the Skandapurāṇa as the following consideration would show.

The Śānti-p. (in the dialogue between Sulabhā[2] and king Dharmadvaja) reads (ch. 308 cr. ed.) :

उक्तवाक्ये तु नृपतौ सुलभा चारुदर्शना ।
ततश्चारुतरं वाक्यं प्रचक्रामाथ भाषितुम् ॥ ७७ ॥
नवभिर्नवभिश्चैव दोषैर्वाग्बुद्धिदूषणैः ।
अपेतमुपपन्नार्थ मष्टादशगुणान्वितम् ॥ ७८[3] ॥

1. Abbreviations used : Mbh = Mahābhārata; SP. = Śāntiparvan; KK. = Kumārikākhaṇḍa of Skandapurāṇa; Nīl. = Nīlakaṇṭha, the commentator of the Mbh.; cr. ed = The critical edition of the Mbh., published by the B. O. R. I. Poona; Cit. ed. = The Citrasala edition of the Mbh. with the commentary by Nīl.; comm. = commentary or commentator.
2. We know practically nothing about the ascetic lady Sulabhā. There is a mention of the Saulabha Brāhmaṇa in Mahābhāṣya 4.2.66 (सौलभानि ब्राह्मणानि). Can the authorship of this work be ascribed to this lady ? The name of Sulabhā is found in the section on ऋषितर्पण in Śāṅkhāyana-gṛhyasūtra 4.9 and Kauṣitaki-gṛhyasūtra 2.5. She has been mentioned in the Viṣṇudharma-p (ch. 91) as one of those ascetic ladies who attained emancipation through yoga (*vide* Studies in the Upapurāṇas, vol. I, p. 136).
3. Readings of these verses are the same in the Cit. ed. of the Mbh. (ch. 320.77-78).

[Verses 79-85 contain a discussion on the five *arthas* of vākya, viz. *saukṣmya*, *saṁkhyā*, *krama*, *nirṇaya* and *prayojana*; verse 86 contains a concluding remark about the nature of vākya].

After the verse 86, the following verses are read ;

उपेतार्थमभिन्नार्थं नापवृत्तं न चाधिकम् ।
नाश्लक्ष्णं न च सन्दिग्धं वक्ष्यामि परमं तव ।। ८७ ।।
न गुर्वक्षरसंबद्धं पराङ्मुखमुखं न च ।
नानृतं न त्रिवर्गेण विरुद्धं नाप्यसंस्कृतम् ।। ८८ ।।
न न्यूनं कष्टशब्दं वा व्युत्क्रमाभिहितं न च ।
न शेषं नानुकल्पेन निष्कारणमहेतुकम् ।। ८९ ।।
कामात् क्रोधाद् भयाल् लोभाद् दैन्यादानार्यकात्तथा ।
ह्रीतोऽनुक्रोशतो मानान् न वक्ष्यामि कथंचन ।। ९० ।।[4]

It may be easily observed that in the stanzas 87-89 each of the epithets (mostly bearing a negative sense) directly shows a *guṇa* of a *vāc* (*vākya*) and indirectly shows a *doṣa* if the negative particle is taken out from it; e. g. नापवृत्त shows the *guṇa* अपवृत्तहीनता directly and also the *doṣa* अपवृत्तता indirectly.

The above-quoted verses present some insuperable problems as are going to be shown here. The variant readings recorded in the cr. ed. do not afford any substantial help in solving these problems.

(1) Since in the *upakrama* (i. e. in the st. 77) we find the mention of *vākya* only, there is hardly any justification for using the word वाग्बुद्धिदूषण (faults that render both *vāc* i. e. *vākya* and *budhi* defective; here *dūṣaṇa* means *dūṣaka*) in st. 78.

(2) The first half of st. 78 plainly means that there are 9 faults of *vāc* and 9 faults of *buddhi*, But the 9 faults of *vāc* (i. e. *vākya*) do not seem to have been mentioned *clearly* in the verses that follow.[5]

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4. The Cit. ed. (Ch. 320) contains the following readings : न्यायवृत्तं (for नापवृत्तं), परमं ततः (for परमं तव), गुर्वक्षरसंयुक्तं (for गुर्वक्षरसंबद्धं), पराङ्मुखसुखं (for (पराङ्मुखमुखं), विक्रमाभिहितं (for व्युत्क्रमाभिहितं), न शेषमनुकल्पेन (for न शेषं नानुकल्पेन), दैन्याच्चानार्यकात् (for दैन्यादानार्यकात्).

5. "The 9 वाग्दोषs and the 9 बुद्धिदोषs mentioned in the stanza are not however clearly designated by names as far as the 9 वाग्दोषs are concerned" (Critical Notes on 308.78).

(3) The first half of the verse 78 may also mean that the total number of the faults pertaining to *vāc* and *buddhi* is 18 (number of the faults of each group being not counted separately). This meaning is also not applicable for obvious reasons.

(4) The meaning of the verse 78 is not free from objections. It says that if a *vākya* becomes devoid of 9+9=18 faults it becomes *upapannārtha* (one whose sense gets established) and also endowed with 18 *guṇas*. What is the use of saying the second sentence separately ? If the faults of a thing are taken out from it, it may be regarded as glorified and one may naturally assert that the thing has been endowed with *guṇas* (which are in fact the absences of the faults). Thus it is quite unnecessary to use the epithet अष्टादशगुणान्वित separately with a view to qualifying *vākya*.

(5) From the nature of the statement नवभिर्नवभिश्चैव दोषैः (stated in the first foot of st. 78) it is evident that in the present context the question of *guṇa* (relating to *vākya* or *pada*) does not arise at all—a fact which tends to show that the reading of st. 78 is corrupt and that the passage (i. e. st. 87-89) must speak of nothing but the *doṣas* only.

(6) The reading of the 4th foot of the st. 87 (वक्ष्यामि परमं तव) is highly doubtful. Strictly speaking this sentence has no necessity and it seems to be abrupt on account of its coming between the words expressing characteristics of *vākya*. One may be inclined to take it as suggesting that the characteristics numbering six (stated in st. 87)[6] belong to a thing which is distinct from the thing whose characteristics are enumerated in st. 88-89. But it is perfectly clear that those two things to which these two sets of characteristics (one set in st. 87 and the other set in st. 88-89) belong have not been stated in the relevant passages and we find no way to determine those two factors in a plausible manner.

(7) It seems to be quite justified to hold that since the verbal form of the stanzas 88-89 is quite similar to that of the st. 87, all of these three stanzas must refer to one and the same thing (i. e. the characteristics stated in the stanzas 87-89 must belong to one

6. उपेतार्थता, अभिन्नार्थता, अपवृत्तहीनता, अनधिकता, श्लक्ष्णता and असन्दिग्धता—the six *guṇas* of *vākya*.

particular thing only) in spite of the intervening sentence वक्ष्यामि परमं तव in 87.

(8) The drift of the verse 90 (*Kāmāt*............ shows that it speaks of the *buddhi-doṣas*, the number of which comes to 9. Now if we take नवभिर्नवभिश्चैव दोषैर्वाग्बुद्धिदूषणैः (78) to mean that the number of *dūṣaṇas* of *vāc* and *buddhi* is 9 each, we are to accept that all the three preceeding verses (87-89) must enumerate 9 *vāg-doṣas*. But as a matter of fact the number of *doṣas* mentioned in these three stanzas is greater than 9 and it is impossible to reduce the number to 9 even by applying those clever devices that are often used by our commentators to defend the views of their respected authors.

The comm. Nīlakaṇṭha has tried to show that the verses 88-89 speak of nine faults—a view which is untenable as is going to be shown here.

Let us at first show the observations of Nīl. :

(1) There are 9 *vāgdūṣaṇas* viz. गुर्वक्षरसंयुक्तत्व etc. stated in 320. 88-89 (cr.ed. 308.88-89).

(2) There are 9 *buddhidūṣaṇas*, viz. *kāma* etc., stated in verse 320.90 (cr. ed. 308.90).

(3) 18 guṇas (अष्टादशगुणान्वित mentioned in verse 78) = the 9 *guṇas* that are opposite to 9 *vāgdūṣaṇas* (like मधुराक्षरत्व which is opposite to गुर्वक्षरत्व) plus the 9 *dosaṣ* which are, in appropriate circumstances, regarded as *guṇas*.

(4) *Vākyaguṇas* are 15 in number ; 6 among them are mentioned in verse 87 (cr. ed.) and nine in verse 88-89 (cr.ed.). Both of the *padadoṣas* and the *vākyadoṣas* can be rightly taken as the *doṣas* of *vākya*

(5) *Padadoṣas*, whose opposites are the *vākyaguṇas*, are mentioned in st. 88-89. They are nine in number, [7] and are to be

7. P. C. Roy, the translator of the Mbh. remarks : "These characteristics, the commentator points out, though numbering 16, include the 4 and 20 mentioned by Bhojadeva in his Rhetoric called सरस्वतीकण्ठाभरण" (p. 476, on. 1) According to the comm. Nīl. the number is however 15 (अत्रालङ्कारिकैः श्लेषादयः शब्दगुणाश्चतुर्विंशतिः प्रतिपादिताः । तेऽत्र शब्दान्तरैः संक्षेपेण चान्तर्भावेण च पञ्चदश प्रोक्ताः, comm. on 320.87).

deduced from the following nine expressions each having a नञ् : (1) न गुर्वक्षरसंयुक्तम्, (2) न पराङ्मुखमुखम्, (3) नानृतम्, (4) न त्रिवर्गेण विरुद्धम् (5) नासंस्कृतम्, (6) न न्यूनं कष्टशब्दं वा (as the expressions contain वा they refer only one single fault) (7) न विक्रमाभिहितम्, (8) न शेषमनुकल्पेन निष्कारणम् and (9) अहेतुकम्.[8]

(6) The aforesaid mention of 9 *guṇas* and 9 *doṣas* of *śabda* (*vākya*) is based on the principle called Tantra.[9] (त एते नव........... तन्त्रेणैव नञ्वद्भिः पदैर्दर्शिताः, comm. on 320.89).

(7) It is true that the st. 87 contains words (associated with the negative particle) that indicate faults. But since the faults indicated by the words (as e. g. the epithet अभिन्नार्थं indicates the fault भिन्नार्थता) are included in the 9 faults enumerated in 88-89 (cr. ed.) they do not deserve to be counted separately. This is why the separate enumeration of faults in st. 87 which are in fact not stated but indicated does not become useless (यद्यपि अपेतार्थमितिश्लोकेऽपि''''तद्व्यर्थत्वं कल्पितम् comm. on 320.89).

We are unable to follow all the aforesaid views of Nīlakaṇṭha for the following reasons :

Though there is no fault in holding that the *vāgdoṣas* (*vāc* = speech in general) include *vākyadoṣas* and *padadoṣas*, yet in the present

8. The names of the faults would be : (1) गुर्वक्षरसंयोग etc.
9. Tantra is a particular technique of exposition. It is usually applied when a word in a sūtra is explained in more than one way: "यत्रार्थिनः सर्वे प्रयोजकभेदेन आवृत्त्या वा योऽर्थः प्रतिपत्तव्यस्तमर्थमेकमेव संभवाल् लाघवाच्च प्रयोजयन्ति तत् तन्त्रम्" (Puṇyarāja on Vākyapadīya 2.77). In the 'Vākyapadīya of Bhartṛhari' edited by K. V. Abhyankara and V. P. Limaye the above statement of Puṇyarāja is found to have been quoted with the reading प्रयोजकाभेदेन. (p. 384) It is corrupt and it must be corrected to प्रयोजकभेदेन. Cp. तन्त्रेण शब्दद्वयोच्चारणाद् अर्थद्वयं लभ्यते (Pradīpa on Mahābhāṣya 1.2.11). It is usually held that the word is used in accordance with the principle of Tantra and the sense is understood through the principle of Āvṛtti (प्रयोक्तुस्तन्त्रेण प्रयोगः, बोद्धुश्च आवृत्त्या बोधः).

context there is no relevance of talking about *padadoṣas* and it is sufficient to speak of *vākyadoṣas* only.

The process through which the 18 *guṇas* are enumerated by Nil.[10] is not only doubtful but also fanciful.

Nil. says that the 9 *doṣas* have been shown by using नञ्वत् पद्s. Thus अहेतुक, according to Nil., shows a fault, since it is a नञ्वत् word, while निष्कारणम् does not show a fault (Nil. takes नशेषमनुक्ल्पेन निष्कारणम् as showing one single fault), simply because there is no नञ् in it, though it bears the sense of नञ् (as it means 'without a cause'). Had the word been अकारणम् then Nil. would not have any hesitation in taking it as referring to a fault ! Does this process seem to be sound ? Nil. takes नशेषमनुक्ल्पेन निष्कारणम् as showing one single fault. Is it reasonable to think that all these words refer to only one fault ?

Moreover if the process as shown by Nilakaṇṭha is applied to the text of the critical edition we will get faults more than nine in number, for we find here the reading न शेषं नानुक्ल्पेन(with two नञ्s) in the place of न शेषमनुकल्पेन (with one नञ्) as read by Nil. It is astonishing that Nil. has not shown any variant reading in these verses nor has he shown any doubt about the readings.

It appears that Nilakaṇṭha has followed here the principle स्थितस्य गतिः चिन्तनीया without taking pains to consider whether his text is स्थित or not.

II

The problems shown above get easily solved if we consider a similar passage[11] occurring in the Kumārikākhaṇḍa of the Skandapurāṇa, ch. 45. The relevant verses are as under :

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10. According to Nil. we are to say that though the verse speaks of न गुर्वक्षरसंयुक्तम् we are to take गुर्वक्षरसंयोग as a दोष and again न गुर्वक्षरसंयोग (अनिष्ठुराक्षरप्राय सुकुमाराख्य) as a गुण and that both are to be taken as two different characteristics (see comm. on 320.88).

11. The verses from SP. 308.78-94 (cr. ed.) are almost similar to KK. 45.62-77a. Verses on five अर्थs on the characteristics of vaktṛ and śrotṛ are not considered here as their readings do not create any problem.

नन्दभद्र उवाच—

ब्रूहि ब्रूहि न मे किञ्चित् साधु गोप्यं प्रियं परम् ।
वचोभिः शुद्धसत्त्वानां न मोक्षोऽप्युपमीयते ॥ ६१ ॥

सत्यव्रत उवाच—

नवभिर्नवभिश्चैव विमुक्तं वाग्विदूषणैः ।
नवभिर्बुद्धिदोषैश्च वाक्यं वक्ष्याम्यदोषवत् ॥ ६२ ॥

[Verses 63-68 contain a discussion on the five *arthas* (namely *sūkṣma* etc.) of a *vākya*, and on the character of a *vākya*; these are the same as Śānti-p. 308.79-86 cr. ed.].

इति वाक्यगुणानां च वाग्दोषान् द्विनव श्रृणु ।
अपेतार्थमभिन्नार्थमपवृत्तं तथाधिकम् ॥ ६९ ॥
अश्लक्ष्णं चापि सन्दिग्धं पदान्ते गुरु चाक्षरम् ।
पराङ्मुखमुखं यच्च अनृतं चाप्यसंस्कृतम् ॥ ७० ॥
विरुद्धं यत् त्रिवर्गेण न्यूनं कष्टातिशब्दकम् ।
व्युत्क्रमाभिहितं यच्च सशेषं चाप्यहेतुकम् ॥ ७१ ॥
निष्कारणं च वाग्दोषान् बुद्धिजान् श्रृणु त्वं च यान् ।
कामात् क्रोधाद् भयाच्चैव लोभाद् दैन्यादनार्यकात् ॥ ७२ ॥
हीनानुक्रोशतो मानाद् न च वक्ष्यामि किंचन ।

[The verses are almost identical in both the editions—Vaṅgavāsī and Veṅkateśvara; व्युत्क्रमाभिहृतं in Veṅk; द्विनव श्रृणु is metrically defective].

The situation or occassion in which these verses are spoken in KK. is however different from that in SP. In KK. the story runs thus : There was a wicked Śūdra Satyavrata by name who wanted to make the religious-minded Nandabhadra a follower of his atheistic views. When Nandabhadra, on account of his honest character, fell in distress, Satyavrata came to him and told him that he (Satyavrata) had wanted to advise him the means for acquiring worldly prosperity, but since he had not found any proper occasion he had not advised him previously according to the time-honoured maxim अप्रस्तावं ब्रुवन् वाक्यं बृहस्पतिरपि ध्रुवम् । लभते बुद्ध्यवज्ञानमवमानं च हीनवत् ॥ (45.60)

Being asked by Nandabhadra, Satyavrata at first spoke of the *vāgdūṣaṇas* and the *buddhidoṣas* and then propounded his own views about atheism from verse 78 b. (सत्यं ते संप्रवक्ष्यामि मन्तुमर्हसि तत्तथा ।।७८। यदा प्रभृति भद्र त्वं पाषाणस्यार्चने रतः । तदाप्रभृति किञ्चिच्च न हि पश्यामि शोभनम् ।।७९।) upto verse 94.

Points to be noted in the two passages

1. The line नवभि र्बुद्धिदोषैश्च वाक्यं वक्ष्याम्यदोषवत् (in KK. 62b) is noteworthy, for it contains the word *buddhidoṣa* (in plural number); these *doṣas* are enumerated in verse 72 with the introductory remarks बुद्धिजान् शृणु.

2. The expressions वक्ष्यामि परमं तव read in the fourth foot in SP. 308.87 cr. ed. is absent in KK. which reads पदान्ते गुरु चाक्षरम् in the second foot of verse 70. It appears that it is the sentence वक्ष्यामि परमं तव which has created the wrong idea that the verse 87 (cr. ed.) speaks of six *vākyaguṇas*[12]. Consequently it has been considered that in verses 88-89 (cr. ed.) characteristics pertaining not to *vākya* but to *pada* have been enumerated which are twelve in number.[13] In the KK. passage no confusion about the character of the characteristics can arise.

3. The reading विमुक्तं वाग्विदूषणैः (KK. 45.62) in the place of दोषैर्वाग्बुद्धिदूषणै रपेतम् (SP. 308.78 cr. ed.) shows that in the following verses (69b-71a) faults pertaining to *vāc*, i. e. *vākya* have been enumerated. Whether these faults belong to *pada* or not is off the point in the present context.

4. According to us the words नवभिर्नवभिश्चैव means 9+9=18 and there is no question of two groups consisting of 9 member

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12. " The 6 वाक्यगुणs are enumerated in st. 87.... The 18 guṇas are probably the 6 वाक्यगुणs plus the opposites of the twelve वाग्बुद्धिदोषs" (Critical Notes on 308.78).

13. "The twelve padadoṣas are enumerated in st. 88-89" (Critical Notes on 308.78). "It is perhaps possible to reduce the 12 पददोषs, as they appear *prima facie*, by regarding निष्कारणं = अहेतुकं = आनुकल्पेन (i e. interpretable only in a गौण sense), in which case the 9 वाग्दोषs and 9 बुद्धिदोषs, mentioned specifically in st. 78, can be made good" (Critical Notes on 308.89).

each[14]. The expression द्वि नव in a subsequent verse (KK. 45.69) which means 2×9=18 (द्विगुणिता नव द्विनव) is also in favour of our view. The sentence नवभि····अदोषवत् (45.62) clearly means : 'I shall tell you a faultless *vākya* which is bereft of 18 (9+9) *vāg-vidūṣaṇas* (characteristics that render a *vākya* defective) and which is also free from nine faults of *buddhi* (i. e. which is uttered without being influenced by the faults of *buddhi*). Eighteen faults of *vākya* as indicated in KK. 69b-72a are quite clear and they are given in the footnote[15]

5. It is to be carefully noted that the enumeration in KK. is related to *doṣas* only and that this enumeration does not take दोषाभाव as गुण. Though KK. speaks of *guṇa* in verse 69 (इति वाक्यगुणानां च), yet this *guṇa* is not of the nature of दोषाभाव ; in fact here गुण stands for the five *arthas*, namely *saukṣma*, *saṁkhyā*, *krama*, *nirṇaya* and *prayojana* as is clear from the context.

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14. It appears that the words नवभि र्नवभिः (for the one word अष्टादशभिः) were used for metrical reasons. The words नवभिर्नवभिः cannot necessarily mean 'two groups containing 9 members each'. Such expressions usually mean addition of numbers. As for example the Mbh. verse 'दशायुतानामयुतं, सहस्राणि च विंशतिः । कोट्यः षष्टिश्च, षट् चैव, येऽस्मिन् राजन् मृधे हताः ।।' (स्त्रीपर्व 26.9 Cit. ed.) cannot be interpreted to mean that there were four groups of persons who were killed in the Bhārata war. The existence of groups in similar verses is accepted if context allows. As for example in the verse चतुर्भिश्च चतुर्भिश्च द्वाभ्यां पञ्चभिरेव च । हूयते च पुनर्द्वाभ्यां तस्मै होमात्मने नमः ।। (Vāmana-p. 26.1 ; Nāradīya-p. 1.19.35; Sānti-p. 47.44) there are five groups which make a total number of 17 *akṣaras*; Cp. Tai. Saṁ 1.6.11.1 and Skanda-p. Dharmāraṇya. 39-8-9.

15. (1) अपेतार्थता, (2) अभिन्नार्थता, (3) अपवृत्तता, (4) अधिकता, (5) अश्लक्ष्णता, (6) सन्दिग्धता, (7) पदान्तगुर्वक्षरता (8) पराङ्मुखमुखता, (9) अनृत, (10) असंस्कृतता, (11) त्रिवर्गविरोध, (12) न्यूनता, (13) कष्टशब्द, (14) अतिशब्द (?), (15) व्युत्क्रमाभिधान, (16) सशेषता, (17) अहेतुकता and (18) निष्कारणता.

18

6. If we compare the situation in which these verses are stated in KK. and SP., we can at once perceive that these verses fit in the context of KK. and not in the context of SP. In SP. king Dharmadhvaja asked Sulabhā a few questions and spoke about his own ideals etc. (verses 20-75 cr. ed.) and Sulabhā replied to these questions in verses 77-190 (cr. ed.). There is nothing in these verses that can necessitate a discussion on the characteristics(whether गुणरूप or दोषरूप) of *vākya.* Thus it is clear that the whole discussion on वाक्यगुण and on the character of *vaktṛs* and *śrotṛs* is artificially put in the dialogue between Sulabhā and Janaka[16].

On the contrary in KK. we find a definite stress on वाक्यकथन (see 45.59-60)[17] and thus there naturally arises an occasion for propounding *vākyadoṣas.* That the discussion on *vāgdoṣa* (in KK.) is an essential part of this episode may also be proved from the statement found at the end of the dialogue between Nandabhadra and Satyavrate.[18]

7. It is a matter of grave consideration that the variants noted in the cr. ed. hardly afford any help in correcting the verses that create confusion. Our discussion is chiefly based on the read-

16. It is to be noted that after discussing वाग्दोषगुण, बुद्धिदोष and वक्तृश्रोतृस्वरूप (up to verse 95 cr. ed.) Sulabhā began to reply to the questions put by Janaka saying, "कासि कस्य कुतो वेति त्वयाहमभिचोदिता" (96a). This shows that the aforesaid discussions have no bearning on the questions put by the king and their replies given by Sulabhā and as such they cannot be regarded as forming an essential part of the dialogue.

17. नन्दभद्र सदा तुभ्यं वक्तुकामोऽस्मि किञ्चन । प्रस्तावस्याप्यभावाच्च नोदितं च मया क्वचित् ।।५९।। अप्रस्तावं ब्रुवन् वाक्यं बृहस्पति रपि ध्रुवम् । लभते बुद्धयवज्ञानमवमानं च हीनवत् ।।६०।।

18. Being grieved by the precepts of Satyavrata Nandabhadra said : मायाविनां हि ब्रुवतां वाक्यं चाडम्बरावृतम् । कुनाणकमिवोद्दीप्तं परीक्ष्येयं सदा सताम् ।।१२१।। आदौ मध्ये तथा चान्ते येषां वाक्यमदोषवत् । कषदाहैः स्वर्णमिव च्छेदेऽपि स्यात् शुभं शुभम् । (१२१) । कुणानक = मुद्राचह्नितं निष्कद्रम्मादि (Mitākṣarā on Yāj. Smṛ. 2. 240). The simile in 122 reminds one the saying of Buddha : तापाच् छेदाच्च निकषात् सुवर्णमिव पण्डितैः । परीक्ष्य भिक्षवो ग्राह्यं मद्वचो न तु गौरवात् ।।.

ing of the verse 78, which however has the variant वाक्यबुद्धिदूषणैः (for वाग्बुद्धिदूषणैः). The variant is useless for our purpose; it simply renders the foot metrically defective by making it नवाक्षर.

8. It appears that some scribe wrote वाग्बुद्धिदूषणैः in the place of the older word वाग्विदूषणैः[19] (and this corrupt reading was followed by later scribes) who failed to notice the discrepancy caused by this reading. Since in a subsequent stanze (70) such characteristics are enumerated as can reasonably be regarded as बुद्धिदोषs, the scribe seems to have thought it proper to take the word as वाग्-बुद्धिदूषणैः instead of वाग्विदूषणैः or वाक्यविदूषणैः and the like.

9. That the reading of the SP. passage is to some extent corrupt may be undoubtedly proved from the following fact. While almost all the characteristics are shown by using words with a negative particle, the first characteristic read in vese 87 (उपेतार्थ) is found to be of a different nature. Symmetry demands that this word must bear a negative particle. It is gratifying to note that some MSS. in Grantha and Kashmiri script read नापेतार्थं न भिन्नार्थम् or नाभेदार्थं न भिन्नार्थम्. The reading नापेतार्थं न भिन्नार्थम् seems to be original.

10. According to us the SP. passage (cr. ed.) also speaks of 18 faults as noted in the footnote.[20]

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19. The line may be conceived as नवभिर्नवभिश्चैव मुक्तं वाक्यविदूषणैः which means the same as नवभिर्नवभिश्चैव विमुक्तं वाग्विदूषणैः as read in KK.

20. (1) अपेतार्थता, (2) भिन्नार्थता, (3) अपवृत्तता, (4) अधिकता, (5) अश्लक्ष्णता, (6) सन्दिग्धता, (7) गुर्वक्षरसंबन्ध or गुर्वक्षरसंयोग (8) पराङ्मुखमुखता or पराङ्मुखसुखता, (9) अनृत, (10) त्रिवर्गविरोध, (11) असंस्कृतता, (12) न्यूनता, (13) कष्टशब्द, (14) व्युत्क्रमाभिहितता, (15) सशेषता, (16) अनुकल्पयुक्तता (?), (17) निष्कारणता and (18) अहेतुकता, In the place of कष्टशब्दं वा there is a variant कष्टशब्दं च in a MS. in Grantha characters which seems to be the correct reading as there is no justification for using वा in an enumeration. On account of the use of of वा Nil. took न न्यूनं कष्टशब्दं वा (as read by him in 320.89) as referring to one single fault. It is noteworthy that वा has not been used with the name of any other fault.

There is a strong ground to accept the preferability of the KK. version. It is remarkable to note that some Purāṇas speak of 18 faults of *vākya* : दशाष्टदोषरहितैर्वाक्यैः (Brahma-p. 245.1) and दशाष्टदोषरहितो वक्तुं समुपचक्रमे (Mārkaṇḍeya-p 1.18).[21] These statements undoubtedly show that the doctrine of 'the eighteen faults of vākya' was well known in the Purāṇic tradition.

The following table will enable the readers to see the similarity in the enumerations as found in K.K. and SP.

K.K. [Each word (in neuter) is an adj. to vākya and it suggests ə doṣa]	SP. [Each word is an adj. to vākya and it suggests a guṇa.]
१. अपेतार्थम्	उपेतार्थम् । न अपेतार्थम्
२. अभिन्नार्थम्	अभिन्नार्थम् । न भिन्नार्थम्
३. अपवृत्तम्	न्यायवृत्तम् । नापवृत्तम्
४. (तथा) अधिकम्	न च अधिकम्
५. अश्लक्ष्णम्	न अश्लक्ष्णम्
६. (चापि) सन्दिग्धम्	न च सन्दिग्धम्
७. पदान्ते गुरु चाक्षरम्	न गुर्वक्षरसंयुक्तम्
८. पराङ्मुखमुखम्	पराङ्मुखमुखं । पराङ्मुखसुखं न च
९. (यच्च) अनृतम्	न अनृतम्
१०. (चापि) असंस्कृतम्	नापि असंस्कृतम्
११. विरुद्धं यत् त्रिवर्गेण	न त्रिवर्गेण विरुद्धम्
१२. न्यूनम्	न न्यूनम्
१३. कष्ट– (?)	कष्टशब्दं वा (?)
१४. अतिशब्दकम् (?)	न अनुकल्पेन (?)
१५. व्युत्क्रमाभिहितम् /० भिहृतम्	विक्रमाभिहितं न च
१६. (यच्च) सशेषम्	न शेषम्
१७. (चापि) अहेतुकम्	(न) अहेतुकम्
१८. निष्कारणम्	(न) निष्कारणम्

Though in the most parts the order of the characteristics (of the nature of doṣa or guṇa) in K.K. and in SP. is the same, yet

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21. Though in the Mārkaṇḍeya-verse the sage Mārkaṇḍeya is said to be bereft of 18 faults, yet the expression दशाष्टदोष-रहित must refer, through *lakṣaṇā*, to the 18 faults of speech, since the act described here is 'to begin a speech'.

in a few places the order is found to be different. While in KK. the order is अनृतम्–असंस्कृतम्–विरुद्धं यत् त्रिवर्गेण, in SP. it is न अनृतम्–न त्रिवर्गेण विरुद्धम्–न असंस्कृतम्. Again while in KK. the order is कष्ट–अतिशब्दकम्–व्युत्क्रमाभिहितम्–सशेषम्–अहेतुकम्–निष्कारणम्, in SP. it is कष्ट-शब्दम्–विक्रमाभिहितम्–शेषम्–अनुकल्पेन–निष्कारणम्–अहेतुकम्. We are unable to point to any definite cause for this anomaly.

III

Character of the eighteen-fold division

It seems rather perplexing that the eighteen-fold division, so well-known in the field of the Purāṇic works, has not been mentioned in the works on rhetoric and dramaturgy[22], though they deal with the faults of *kāvya* as well as of *vākya* and *pada* sometimes with much detail.[23] The Agni-p. (347) and the Viṣṇudharmottara (3.15) speak of these faults, but the enumeration is differrent from that in KK. and SP. Some stray passages are also found

22. Purāṇic views on poetic matters are sometimes found in the works on rhetoric. The passage on त्रिविधवाक्य in Kāvyaprakāśa (1.2) may be compared with the following verses in the Kumārikā-khaṇḍa of the Skanda-p.: तच्चापि वाक्यं त्रिविधं भवेदिति श्रुतेर्मतम् । प्रभुसंमितमेकं च सुहृत्संमतमेव च ॥ ६७ ॥ कान्तासंमितमेवापि वाक्यं हि त्रिविधं विदुः । प्रभुः स्वामी यथा भृत्यमादिशत्येतदाचर ॥ ६८ ॥ तथा श्रुतिस्मृती चोभे प्राहतु: प्रभुसंमतम् । इतिहासपुराणादि सुहृत्संमतमुच्यते ॥ ६७ ॥ सुहृद् वै प्रतिबोध्यैनं प्रवर्तयति तत्त्वतः । काव्यालापादिकं यच्च कान्तासंमतमुच्यते ॥७० (KK. 40.67-70). This passage and the passage under discussion clearly show that the author of KK. was aware of the views of rhetoricians about vākya and kindred matters. This may tend to prove that the passages on faults in KK. are more correct than the passages in SP. and we believe that if the verses are edited with the help of MSS. all difficulties concerning the readings and the meanings of the expressions would be solved. KK. 45 is not found in any of the current Purāṇas or Upapurāṇas.

23. See Nātyaśāstra 17.88; Kāvyādarśā, ch. 3; Kāvyālaṅkāra of Bhāmaha, ch. 4; Kāvyālaṅkāra of Rudraṭa, ch. 6; Kāvyālaṅkārasūtra, ch. 3; Vyakti-viveka, ch. 2; Kāvyaprakāśa, ch. 7; Śāhityadarpaṇa, ch. 7; Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa, ch. 1; Alaṅkāra-sarvasva, ch. 3; Alaṅkāraśekhara, chs.4-5; Vāgbhaṭālaṅkāra, ch. 2; Kāvyānuśāsana, ch. 3; Ekāvalī, ch. 6; Pratāparudrayaśobhūṣaṇa, ch. 5.

in different works,[24] but nowhere we find the aforesaid enumeration of 18 faults. It is however needless to say that some of the names of *doṣas* as found in the works on rhetoric bear similarity to the names of *doṣas* as read in KK. and SP. (The names are however to be deduced from the words used therein).

There must be some strong reason for this silence. May we suppose that as this enumeration of faults is not strictly scientific but popular it was not mentioned by the authors of rhetoric and dramaturgy.

Though a commentator of SP. has quoted Nārada who spoke of 18 faults,[25] yet since the enumeration has very little similarity to the enumeration in SP. the aforesaid view of ours is not invalidated. Nārada's enumeration does not seem to be very sound. Until the work of Nārada is known nothing can be said on this point definitely. It is quite possible that Nārada followed an older list of faults faithfully or with some changes in the names. There is hardly any evidence to prove that the KK. enumeration or the SP. enumeration is based on the enumeration by Nārada. Referring to Nārada by a commentator of a much later time cannot be regarded as a proof.

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24. See Bhāgavata-khaṇḍana of Dayānanda Sarasvatī (p. 2) where the following verses have been quoted without mentioning the source : न नानार्थं न भिन्नार्थं नासंहितं न चाधिकम् । न न्यूनं कष्टशब्दं च व्युत्क्रमाभिहितं न च ।। नासत्यमतिसत्यं वा सूक्ष्मं सत्यप्रयोजनम् । एतद्दशदोषरहितं वाक्यमुच्चार्यं लेखनीयं च ।। (The last line is metrically defective). Some of the names in this list bear striking similarity to the names as read in KK. and SP.

25. The 18 faults stated by Nārada are ; शब्दहीन, अर्थदुष्ट, विसन्धि, पुनरुक्तामत्, व्याकीर्ण, वाक्यसंकीर्ण, अपद, वाक्यगर्भिता, अभिन्नलिङ्ग, अभिन्नसंख्या, न्यूनपद, अधिकपद, भग्नच्छन्दः, भग्नयति, अशरीर, अरीतिमत्, देशविरुद्ध and कालविरुद्ध. What text is implied by the name Nārada is not clear. The verses are not found in any of the works, viz. the Nāradīya-p. Bṛhan-nāradīya-p., Nāradīya-smṛti, Nāradīyaśikṣā and the Nārada-pañcarātra.

We have a conjecture about this enumeration of eighteen faults. It appears that this popular enumeration was conceived by a teacher in whose tradition the number 18 was regarded as highly auspicious and this original enumeration was incorporated by the authors of KK. and SP. at different times. It is quite natural that there occurred some changes in the names and order of the faults of the original enumeration when it was incorporated in these works. The Purāṇic works are full of such incorporated matters.

That the number 18 was regarded as auspicious can be proved from such statements as 'Śaṅkarācārya composed the Śārīraka-bhāṣya after having studied the Sūtasaṁhitā for eighteen times'[26]. Is there any scientific basis for reading a book eighteen times in order to understand it fully ? There is hardly any doubt that it is the auspicious character of this number which compelled the author to mention it in connection with the act of reading.

In a good number of cases we find that *doṣas* of various kinds are said to have eighteen varieties.[27] May we suppose that there was an intimate connection between the number 18 and faults and that this is why the faults of *vākya* were also considered to be eighteen in number.

Since we take the KK. version older than the SP. version and think that the readings in the KK. version are better than those in the SP. version it is necessary for us to show how the wrong readings came into existence in SP.

As to why the SP. passage speaks of *guṇa* (अष्टादशगुणान्वित, 308.78) is a question which requires to be solved. It appears that the words इति वाक्यगुणानां च in KK. 45.69 (which were also present in the original text used by the author of SP.) are one the causes of this reading which has created a great confusion as shown above.

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26. तामष्टादशधालोच्य शङ्करः सूतसंहिताम् । चक्रे शारीरकं भाष्यं सर्ववेदान्तनिर्णयम् ॥
27. मुक्तो ह्यष्टादशैर्दोषैः कुर्याद् राज्यं महासुरः । (Devī-p. 2. 76); दमोऽष्टादशदोषः (Sanatsujāta sec. 2.21); Bhagavat is said to be bereft of 18 *mahādoṣas* which are enumerated in the Viṣṇuyāmala (मोहस्तान्द्रा....दोषा अष्टादशोदिताः).

The line नवभिर्बुद्धिदोषैश्च वाक्यं वक्ष्याम्यदोषवत् in the KK. version (45.62b) is not read in the SP. version in the second half of 78 (the first half is slightly different from that in the KK. version) and in its place the sentence अपेतमुपपन्नार्थमष्टादशगुणान्वितम् is read. The reason for this difference is not far to seek. It appears that अपेतार्थमभिन्नार्थम् in KK. 45. 69(which was also present in the original text used by the author of the SP.) was wrongly read by some scribe as अपेतमुपपन्नार्थम् and this reading naturally gave rise to the reading अष्टादशगुणान्वितम्, probably by replacing the expression which occurred in this place, for if a *vāc* or *vākya* becomes devoid of (*apetam*) *doṣas* it naturally becomes *upapannārtha*, and consequently it is regarded as *guṇānvita*. The word *aṣṭādaśa* (showing the number of *guṇas*) was used as it was previously known that the *doṣas* were 18 (9+9) in number.

It appears that originally the enumeration was concerned with *doṣas* only (adjectival words were used to indicate the *doṣas*); afterwards in order to suit the expression अष्टादशगुणान्वितम् these adjectival words were changed into words indicating *guṇas* simply by using a न before these words (sometimes न is availalde through अनुवृत्ति) as is clear from the names as given in SP.[28] This is why we are in favour of taking नापेतार्थम्, न भिन्नार्थम् and नापवृत्तम् as the correct or original readings in the place of उपेतार्थम्, अभिन्नार्थम् and न्यायवृत्तम् respectively in SP. The words पादान्ते गुरु चाक्षरम् in KK (पदान्त is a corruppt reading) positively shows that it is the पद्यवाक्य about which the author of this chapter is speaking and as such नापवृत्तम् (without having any defect in metre) must be taken as the correct reading. The parallel reading of पादान्ते....is न गुर्वक्षरसंयुक्तम् in SP. which is evidently an inferior reading to the reading in KK.

As to why the word वाग्विदूषणैः was changed to वाग्बुद्धिदूषणैः (with other necessary changes) it may be surmised that since there

28. The Purāṇas are replete with verses indicating such changes. There are almost identical verses in the different Purāṇas in which only the words in the vocative case vary so as to suit the characters connected with the dialogues in the respective Purāṇas—a fact which evidently shows that it was a normal function of the Paurāṇika authors to change the words in the originals in order to render them appropriate to the new context.

was an enumeration of *buddhidūṣaṇas* in a subsequent stanza the word *buddhi* was inadvertently inserted in the original word वाग्विदूषण or वाग्दूषण or a word similar to it.

We have already said that the reading वक्ष्यामि परमं तव (308.87b) is abrupt. One can easily understand that when the sentence वाक्यं मम निशामय occurs in the just preceding verse (86), it is quite unnecessary to say वक्ष्यामि परमं तव in the verse 87. As to how this sentence was inserted here is difficult to assert.

Unintelligible and doubtful readings

KK. reads न्यूनं कष्टातिशब्दकम् (45.71a). There must be three names here न्यून, कष्ट and अतिशब्द. Both न्यून (न्यूनता) and कष्ट (कष्टशब्द) are wellknown *doṣas.* The import of अतिशब्द is not clear. Most probably it is a corrupt reading. This is the only reading in KK. (concerning वाक्यदोष) which seems doubtful. It may be अतिसत्य, a fault mentioned in the passage quoted by Dayānanda Sarasvatī.

पदान्ते (in 45.70) must be पादान्ते; it may be a printing or scribal mistake. हीनानुक्रोशतः must be corrected to ह्रीतोऽनुक्रोशतः. हीन cannot be taken in the sense of हीनता as is found in the Bengali translation of the KK.

SP. reads न शेषं नानुकल्पेन (cr. ed.) which is not quite intelligible; the reading नशेषमनुकल्पेन (as accepted by Nīl.) is also not happy and the explanation afforded by Nīl. is far from being satisfactory.

In कष्टशब्दं वा (in SP.), वा does not, according to us, suit the context, as it is a case of enumeration. A few MSS. do not read वा but च as has already been stated.

Symmetry demands that the reading उपेतार्थमभिन्नार्थम् is to be corrected to नापेतार्थं न भिन्नार्थम् as read in some MSS.

We are not concerned here with the imports of the words showing *doṣas* or *guṇas* of *vākya*. Imports of some of these words are amply clear. Imports of some of the words as given by the commentators (*vide* the critical apparatus) are not always satisfactory and in a few cases they are far-fetched.

Almost all of these names are found in the works on rhetoric, either in the same forms or in slightly different forms or in words

bearing same or similar senses. The word पराङ्मुखमुख is one of those words which are not found in these works; if it refers to ग्राम्यत्व or अश्लीलत्वदोष (as stated by commentators) then this must be regarded as a fault stated in these works.

A wrong explanation of the eighteen doṣas mentioned in Mārk. 1.18

We want to conclude the article by referring to a wrong explanation of the 18 faults of *vākya.* In his translation of the Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa Pargiter has appended the following footnote to the expression *daśāṣṭadoṣa-rahita* (1.18):

"The eighteen defects are said, in a translation begun by the late Rev. K. M. Banerjea[29] to be these—palpitation, fear, thickness in speech, indistinctness, speaking through the nose, discordency, want of emotion, disconnectedness, roughness, hoarseness, high pitch, inaccuracy in pronunciation, perturbation, want of cadence, sing-song, shaking the head, weakness of voice and unmeaningness" (p. 3).

One can easily understand that these are not the faults of *vākya*; some of them are the faults of pronunciation and some (e.g. shaking the head) are the faults in the manner of reading. Such lists of faults are found in the works on Śikṣā, Vyākaraṇa and Prātiśākhya.[30] The above list is however not found in any well-known work on Śikṣā etc. It is a pity that the translator failed to notice that in the context in question there is no relevance of speaking of faults concerning pronunciation or reading.

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29. As most of our readers may not know who the Rev. was K. M. Banerjea, the translator of the Mārkaṇḍeya-p., we are giving here the following pieces of information about him. The Rev. Kṛṣṇa Mohana Bandyopādhyāya (Banerjea is the anglicized form of the wellknown Bengali surname Bandyopādhyāya) was born in Calcutta in 1813; having come in contact with H. L. V. Derogio he embraced Christianity; besides Bengali and English he knew Arabic Persian, Urdu, Tamil, Greek, Hebrew and Latin; he translated a few Sanskrit works into English; he was the President of the British Indian Association; he died in 1885.

30. *Vide* (1) Mahābhāṣya, Paspaśāhnika; there are two lists each of which mentions 12 faults of pronunciation; (2) Pāninīyā Śīkṣā of the Ṛg-vedic recension, verses 34-35; (3) Nāradīyaśikṣā 1.3. 11-12.

A NOTE ON PURANIC INFLUENCE OUTSIDE INDIA

By

S. C. BANERJI

The Purāṇas constitute a bulk of Sanskrit literature. The earliest extant Purāṇa or portion of Puranic works dates back to about the third century A. D. The determination of the dates of the Purāṇas is rendered difficult by the fact that portions of these works were composed or compiled in different periods.

Though the traditional contents of the Purāṇas are divided into five classes, viz., creation, re-creation, genealogies of gods and sages, Manu periods of times, genealogies of kings, yet actually they contain everything under the sun, viz., religious and secular law, poetics, prosody, arts and crafts, paintings etc.

Besides the historical value of the works, their study is regarded as indispensable for the student of religious history. The *Yājñavalkya-smṛti* (I.3) speaks of Purāṇa as a source of *dharma* and *vidyā*. The *Viṣṇupurāṇa*- (III. 6. 28) includes Purāṇa among fourteen branches of learning. The Purāṇas have been a rich storehouse of material for the literary works. The *Durgā-saptaśatī*, commonly known as *Caṇḍī* belonging to the *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa*, is looked upon as a very holy treatise.

It is no wonder, therefore, that the Purāṇas exercised profound influence on the Indians and Indian literatures. What is surprising is that they travelled far beyond the confines of India. We shall draw an outline of the influence of the Purāṇas beyond the land of their origin.

The well-known *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* of Java is modelled on Indian Purāṇa. The work, *Agastyaparvan,* though written in the local language, contains verses of the Puranic type. Agastya has described, in the manner of Purāṇas, the creation of the world. The *Ādipurāṇa* and the *Bhuvanapurāṇa* contain well-known puranic legends. The original Sanskrit work which may have inspired these works is not available. In the *Bhuvanapurāṇa* there are verses in corrupt Sanskrit.

The famous American writer, Emerson, has acknowledged his debt to India in his essay on Plato. He refers, *inter alia*, to the *Viṣṇupurāṇa*.

Another American stalwart, Thoreau, acquainted himself with the above Purāṇa through the translation by Wilson. He has quoted from the Purāṇa verses in an unpublished *Journal* and in his *Writings*. Also quoted are some verses from the *Harivaṁśa*; this work is written like the Purāṇas, and is sometimes designated as a Purāṇa.

The Swedish scholar, Stenzler, translated the *Brahmavaivarta-purāṇa* into Latin.

The American Whitney, published an edition of the *Viṣṇupu-rāṇa* which was translated by the aforesaid Wilson.

A common motif of some foreign stories is the meeting of the hero with bathing beauties, the stealing of the clothes by the hero and his choice of one of them as his wife. An example is Grimm's Drummer (No. 193). The currency of similar motifs is amply attested by the work of Dotte, Polivka and Holstrom (Studien, 1919).

In modern Greece and Balkan countries there are several stories in which the hero has stolen a portion of the clothes of a nymph, and then marries her. This motif may have been supplied by the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* in which Kṛṣṇa has been depicted as stealing the clothes of the bathing cowherd women.

Some scholars are certain that the motif originated in India and migrated to several countries of the east and the west.[1]

Some Persian work or collections of stories contain the theme. From there it travelled to Anatolia. Through the Arabian novels it reached the west. From Arabia it migrated to Turkey and Russia in the north, Tunis, Algeria and Morocco in the West, Zanzibar, Zululand, Madgaskar and the coastal regions of West Africa.

Through another route it got into Tibet, Tartar land, Mongolia, North Siberia (the tribes Samoyeds, Yakts, Chukchi, etc.), America and Greenland.

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1. See Penzer's trans. of the *Kathāsaritsagara*, viii, p. 234.

To the east of India the motif, in some form or other, is seen in Burma, Indochina, China, Japan, Philippines, Sumatra, Borneo, Celebes, Molucca, Polynesia, Australia, New Zealand etc.

In an inscription (5th cent., second half) of Laos, a verse from the *Matsyapurāṇa* has been quoted.

Some Purāṇas were translated into Persian here in India. The *Bhāgavata* was translated by Toḍar Mall and Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa Sarur. Among Persian translations of the Purāṇas are the *Brahmavaivarta*, *Skanda* (Kāshikhaṇḍa), *Purāṇārthaprakāśa*, *Śivapurāṇa*, *Vāyu* and *Viṣṇupurāṇas*.

Such is the story of the migration of some Indian works. India is now keen upon friendly relations with foreign countries. The discovery of the influence of the purāṇas in foreign countries will go a long way as a cementing force in the political and cultural relation of India with the the foreign countries concerned.

THE TÜBINGEN PURĀṆA PROJECT

The government-funded German Research Association has approved to support a research project devoted to the analysis of Purāṇas at the University of Tübingen, FRG. Established under the directorship of Prof. Dr. Heinrich von Stietencron at the Seminar für Indologie at the University of Tübingen, the project began its work inJanuary 1982. Presently Dr.(Ms.) Renate Söhnen, Dr. Peter Schreiner and Peter Flamm, M.A. are employed with the project.

The task of the project is to provide tools for textual and content analysis of the Purāṇas to Indologists as well as to specialists in other fields such as linguists, historians of religion, anthropologists etc. The basic methodological presupposition is derived from our conviction that any evaluation of Puranic materials will have to take into consideration the peculiarities of these texts : They are to be counted among the so-called anonymous literature, being characterized by the co-existence of a great number of different layers—chronological, stylistic, religious etc. Evaluation cannot, therefore, do without dissecting the texts, nor without critical analysis of words, names, motifs, stories, styles, linguistic peculiarities etc. in their different contexts. Evaluation and interpretation further depend on constant comparison of materials with all other occurrences in the same as well as in other purāṇic texts. Thus, indices and concordances are the prerequisites for such research. They exist for all major texts of the Vedic period of Indian religious and literary history; they also exist for most major texts of the Western religious and literary tradition, but they lack for the Purāṇas.

The development of computer technology and the availability of the so-called "Tuebingen System of Textprocessing Programms" (TU-STEP), a package of standard programmes, planned and implemented under the guidance of Dr. Wilhelm Ott, head of the department of Literary and Documentary Computing of the Computing Center at the University of Tübingen, made it feasable to undertake the indexing of Purāṇas. Procedures and routines tasted

by Dr. P. Schreiner while studying the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa are being developed and applied to other texts. Presently work on the Brahma-Purāṇa (BrP.) is in progress.

The tools to be provided by the Tuebingen Purāṇa Project will be of three kinds :

I. Sanskrit materials :

1. Text : The text of at least two printed versions of a Purāṇa are transcribed in machine-readable form and are mechanically collated, (a) in order to eliminate typing errors, (b) in order to provide a list of variant readings. In the case of the BrP those variant readings listed in the Ānanda-Āśrama Sanskrit Series (ASS-edition) are then worked into the corrected data. This text provides the basis for all further materials and amounts to a reprint of, in this case, the Ānanda Āśrama Sanskrit-Series. (ASS) plus the Veṅkateśvara editions.

2. Index of all word-forms of the text in their context (KWIC-index) including variant readings. Parts of compounds will constitute separate entries.

3. Index of word-forms sorted backward, i.e. beginning with the last letter of each word or word-form.

4. Pāda-Index.

II. English materials :

Along with the transcription of the Sanskrit text a detailed summary of the contents is being prepared with special regard for the outline and structure of the text. This summary is supplied with its own index of catch-words including all proper names.

III. Bibliography

We are aiming at the admittedly utopian goal of a complete annotated reference tool to titles of (printed) primary and secondary literature concerning purāṇic texts aud studies. This should include the epics (MBh,Rm) as well as the Harivaṁśa and the Upapurāṇas. Titles which are accessible to us are being annotated to indicate the sources, the methods and the results of the publication including a list of the main textual references.

The basic advantage of our bibliography over those which purāṇic scholars may have collected for themselves will be the

indices which will supplement it and will make it into a real reference tool : a) Index of authors; b) Index of catch-words drawn from the titles and our annotations; c) Index of textual references to passages with which a particular publication deals.

Since time and resources for the project are limited we herewith invite scholars from the field of purāṇic studies for cooperation by sending us lists of their publications concerning the epics or purāṇas (not necessarily off-prints). In order to be able to standardize the data, bibliographical informations should include the following details :

—Name and first name (s) of author;
—exact wording of title as printed on the publication;
—place, publisher and date of publication (in case of books);
—name, volume and year, as well as exact page-numbers of the journal or volume (in case of not independent publications).

Publications may be in any language; information about publications in Indian languages are especially welcome. Please use original writing (Devanāgarī, Tamil etc). plus transliteration.

We have already gained cooperation or promise of cooperation from e. g. Prof. Stefano Piano, Prof. Ludo Rocher, Prof. S G. Kantawala. Within the first six months of our project we were able to collect ca. 1800titles, ca. 700 of which have been annotated.

—Peter Schreiner

ANNOUNCEMENTS OF NEW PROJECTS

The All-India Kashiraj Trust has resolved to introduce four new projects for the advancement of Purāṇic learning. The Trust heartily requests all scholars interested in Purāṇic study for co-operation.

(1) Publications of monographs dealing with Purāṇic literature (i.e. works bearing the names of Purāṇas or Upapurāṇas) in all the regional languages of India. Each monograph should contain a detailed account of published works, of MSS. preserved in the libraries and in the Private Collections and of works known through quotations.

(2) Publication of unpublished theses on important Purāṇic subjects.

(3) Publication of a series of monographs (not less than 100 pages) on the lives of the great sages as described in Purāṇic literature.

(4) Publication of Sanskrit Digests by traditional scholars on Purāṇic studies. These digests may be published in the Bulletin also.

In the Fifth world Conference, Varanasi (1981) the Kashi Naresh on behalf of the Kashiraj Trust announced the institution of a prize of Rs. 10,000/- to be awarded every third year for the best work relating to the Purāṇas published in any language and in any country.

OUR REQUESTS

We earnestly request the authorities of all Institutions (Universities, Colleges or Research Institutes) to send us detailed accounts of works, done or taken up by the members of their staff or by the Research scholars, on the Purāṇas, Upapurāṇas and the Epics. They are also requested to send us the outlines of their Projects on Purāṇic studies and research. These accounts and outlines will enable us to prepare a Purāṇic Bibliography in near future.

Scholars interested in Purāṇic study may send to the Purāṇa Dept. any query of general interest about Purāṇic matters. These will be placed before competent persons for solution. These solutions may appear in the issues of the Bulletin.

Scholars are requested to send *two copies* of their books on Purāṇic topics for review.

REVIEWS AND SHORT NOTICES

Dr. C. Sivaramamurti : *Citrasūtra of the Viṣṇudharmottara*; pub. : Kanak Publications, 8 (D II) Cornwallis Street, New Delhi; pages XIV+230; illustrations; price Rs. 210 or US. $ 50=00.

The work under review contains the 9 chapters on painting (called Citrasūtra) of the Viṣṇudharmottara (3.35-43) with English translations, an elaborate Introduction, more than 140 illustrations and a few portraits and pictures (multicoloured).

We have carefully gone through the book and we fully agree with what has been said by Stella Kramrisch (in her Preface) that 'the author has placed the Citrasūtra into the living context of poetry, drama and inscriptions and has shown the validity of the criteria of the Citrasūtra by applying them to Indian art of all ages' (p. XIV).

It is a pity that though the Viṣṇudharmottara was published in Śaka 1834 (= 1912 AD.) by the Venkateswar Press, Bombay and it existed in the MS. form in the libraries yet its chapters on Citrasūtra did not attract the attention of scholars working in the field of Indian arts. This is why we find no mention of the Citrasūtra in the 'Indian Painting' by Percy Brown (published in 1927) though it mentions Citralakṣaṇa. (p. 23). After a period of more than 10 years scholars began to take interest in these chapters of the Viṣṇudharmottara and in 1924 two papers by Stella Kramrisch appeared—one in the Calcutta Review (1924; pp. 331 ff.) and the other in the Journal of the Department of Letters, Cal. Uni. vol. XI. Shri Haridas Mitra also referred to the Citrasūtra in the Preface to the Pratimālakṣaṇa, edited by him (pub. 1933). It is pleasing to note that the chapters on the various branches of ancient Indian *vidyās* in the Viṣṇudharmottara have now become the subject of serious study after their publication in the Gaekward Oriental Series for which all serious students of ancient Indian arts should remain grateful to Dr. (Miss) Priyabala Shah.

The Introduction (in 136 pages) by the author, which is a master-piece and which deserves to be studied by all interested in ancient Indian arts, deals in its 6 chapters with : (1) The place of

painting among fine arts; (2) the Citrasūtra and its date; (3) technique of painting; (4) classifications of painting; (5) conventions of painting; and (6) appraisal of painting. One may find that the traditional six limbs of Indian painting have been amply discussed in this Introduction.

In this Introduction the author has quoted from almost all important poetical works and also from a good number of works on rhetoric with a view to illustrating vividly the views of the Citrasūtra. The examples given from these works are so apt that the reading of this part of the Introduction has become highly pleasurable. He has not only profitably used the works on *śilpaśāstra*, *kāmaśāstra*, *arthaśāstra*, *jyotiṣa* and *vyākaraṇa* chiefly to explain the difficult and obscure terms concerning the art of painting but also has quoted from such art-connoisseurs as Coomarswamy, Ruskin, Leonardo da Vinci and others in order to justify some of his views. We have no hesitation in declaring that his attempts have been crowned with success.

The author deserves our praise for propounding the traditional view that 'painting (which is usually regarded as one of the *vinodasthānas*) was in ancient India mainly a hand-made of religion' and that 'the painter in India was almost a yogī lost in his art' (p. 2). He is right in holding that 'painting became so important that it was elaborated as a science very much as dance or music' (p. 19).

The observations of the author on textual criticism (pp. 137-166) display the depth of his knowledge of Sanskrit language. His remarks about some readings that 'they are more appropriate' or that 'they are probably the original readings' and the like show that the text as printed is corrupt in many places and that still there is the necessity for editing the text with the help of older MSS.

In a few places we differ from the views of the author. Following examples are noteworthy :

1. The author thinks that the word *citrasūtra* in Kuṭṭanīmata 124 (भरतविशाखिलदत्तिल....पुस्तसूदशास्त्रेषु) definitely refers to the Citrasūtra section of the Viṣṇudharmottara (p. 20). According to us the word *citrasūtra* in the aforesaid passage does not stand for a definite literary composition on painting (i. e. any work on painting may be

called a Citrasūtra); cp. Rathasūtra, Hastisūtra and Aśvasūtra in Sabhāparvan 5.121. Bharata, Viśākhila and Dattila in the aforesaid passage are the names of persons and as such they refer, through *lakṣaṇā*, to the treatises composed by these teachers. As the word Vṛkṣāyurveda in this verse cannot be interpreted to mean the Vṛkṣāyaurveda section in the Agnipurāṇa (ch. 282), so the word *citrasūtra* cannot be taken as referring to the chapters on Citrasūtra in the Viṣṇudharmottara or in any other work. It may be historically true that at the time of Dāmodaragupta all ancient works on Citrasūtra were lost and only these chapters in the Viṣṇudharmottara were in existence, yet it would be wrong to take this word in the aforesaid passage as referring to the Citrasūtra section in the Viṣṇudharmottara.

2. The author takes द्वादशाङ्गुलविस्तारस्तालः (35.11) to mean 'tala is made up of 12 inches' (p. 50). In fact the *aṅguli* measure (of length) is never regarded as equal to one English inch. Usually it is taken to be equal to 3/4 of an inch (Dr. V. S. Agrawala : India as Known to Pāṇini, p. 255).

(3) In order to prove the antiquity of the Viṣṇudharmottara the author takes Śaṅkara's bhāṣya on the Viṣṇusahasranāma as the work of Ādi Śaṅkarācārya, the author of the Śārīraka-bhāṣya. To me this identification of the two authors is highly doubtful. Śaṅkarācārya in his Śārīraka-bhāṣya (2.1.1) clearly asserts that Kapila cannot be regarded as a proper interpreter of the Vedic doctrines; the author of the bhāṣya on V. S. Nāma accepts Kapila as कृत्स्नवेददर्शक (*vide* the bhāṣya on the name महर्षिः कपिलाचार्यः, अनुशा० 149.70). Can Śaṅkara be taken as accepting the view that the body of God is really immortal—a view which has been expressly stated in the comment on the word अमृतवपुस् (verse 100), one of the names of Viṣṇu. I may inform the author that Dr. Belvalkar expressed his doubt about this identity : 'The ascription of this comm. to Śaṅkarācārya is more or less debatable' (Sree Gopal Basu Mallik Lectures on Vedanta Philosophy, pp. 218-219). The bhāṣya on V. S. Nāma has not been commented by any earlier teacher of the Śāṅkara school. Tāraka-brahmānanda is a very late commentary.

4. About hair the Viṣṇudharmottara reads : कुन्तला दक्षिणावर्तास्तरङ्गाः सिंहकेसराः । वर्वरा जूटसरा इत्येता केशजातयः ॥ (37.8). In the translation the author is silent on the word *vardhara*, but in the Intro-

duction (p. 53) he takes the word in the sense of 'hair sticking out dishevelled' (a variety of hair-do) and illustrates it in fig. 51.

The word is not found in the Dictionaries. It has no variant in the edition published in the G. O. Series. Most probably it is a corrupt reading. May we read it as बर्बरा: on the authority of the Lilitāsahasranāma and the bhāṣya by Bhāskara thereon.[1] It is however a suggestion only. The expression जूटटसर is also doubtful. Both the form टसर and its meaning require to be determined.

5. The author says that the word *gāyanaḥ* in 42.42 is to be corrected to *gāyakaḥ* (p. 158). Obviously the author considers *gāyana* to be a wrong word. The word in the sense of a *gāyaka* is correct; *vide* Pāṇini 3.1.147 (ण्युट् च).

6. The author reads the verse 39.38 as क्षयवृद्धी च कात्स्र्येन मया तेऽभिहितेऽनघ. Since *te* refers to *kṣayavṛddhī* it is in dual number and as such there can be no *sandhi* between *te* and *abhihite* (*vide* Pāṇini 6.1.125); similarly there can be no *sandhi* between *abhihite* and *anagha*. The line may be read as क्षयवृद्धी च कात्स्न्येनाभिहिते ते मयानघ. We may take the word *vihita* in the sense of '*prakāśita*' (*vide* Nīlakaṇṭha's comm. on विहितं .... कपिलादिभिरीश्वरैः Śānti-p. 301.3) and read क्षयवृद्धी च कात्स्न्र्येन मया ते विहिते नृप (नृप in the place of अनघ is read in the G. O. S. edition).

7. 39.2 reads अनृजु तदनन्तरम्. According to the author the line is metrically faulty and he proposes to read is as अनृजु स्यादनन्तरम् (p. 145). It is true that according to Piṅgala the third letter in the second foot in the anuṣṭubh metre must not be *laghu* (5.10-11) and as such the observation of the author is correct. But the restriction of Piṅgala is not stated by Kedārabhaṭṭa in the Vṛttaratnākara and the commentator Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa remarks that the above restriction is held by a few teachers only (other commenta-

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1. On the name बन्धुरालका Bhāskara observes : "बन्धुरा उन्नतानना अलकाश्चूर्णकुन्तला यस्याः । बर्बरालकेति तु संप्रदायागतः पाठः । बर्बरशब्दः संकुचिताग्रह्रस्वकेशेषु रूढः । आनीलस्निग्धबर्बरकचानामिति ललितास्तवरत्ने प्रयोगात् । बर्बरेति पाठेऽपि स एवार्थः, बाबरेत्यपभ्रंशदर्शनाच्च । वस्तुतः अयमेव बहुसंमतः पाठो न बन्धुरेति" (श्लोक १६२) ।

tors of the Vṛttaratnākara are silent on this point). As the restriction was not regarded as universal we often find even in the works of great poets anuṣṭubh stanzas having the third letter as *laghu* in the second pāda. Moreover it cannot be expected that the restriction of the aforesaid kind was followed by the authors of the Purāṇic works. Even this very chapter of the V. Dh. U. has not followed this restriction, *vide* verses 7, 13, 23, 26, 37, 40, 45 and 50.

8. The author renders *jaṅghā* (39.32) by leg (p. 178). Since leg is usually taken in the sense of 'the part from hip to ankle', this rendering may create confusion. *jaṅghā* is the region between ankle (*gulpha*) and knee (*jānu*), *vide* Suśruta, Sutra 35.12. It is better to render *jaṅghā* by shank. It is painful to note that in the English translations of some Sanskrit works by modern scholars *jaṅghā* is rendered by buttock or thigh.

It is not understood why in a few places references have not been given properly, though sometimes names of the sources have been stated. Interested readers may note that नमो ब्रह्मण्यदेवाय····(p.28) is Bhāgavata 9.11.7; धर्मो रक्षति रक्षितः (p. 36) is Mbh.Vana-p. 312.128; शिवःस्कन्दो विशाखः···(p.27)is Mahābhāṣya 5.3.99 and यथा धौतो घट्टितश्च···· (p. 45) is Pañcadaśī 6.2.

One printing mistake requires to be corrected. *Sukha* (p. 25, 1.17) must be corrected to *Śukra*, the Vedic name for the month Jyaiṣṭha.

It would have been better had the English translations of the verses been given along with the verses.

—**R. S. B.**

A Philosophical Study of the Concept of Viṣṇu in the Purāṇas. By K. Bharadvaja, Published by Pilambar Publishing Company, New Delhi, pp. XII, 396, 8. Price Rs. 95.

Right from early Vedic literature upto modern time Lord Viṣṇu occupies an important place. Though in Vedic literature Viṣṇu has been depicted in comparatively little expansion, the god has pervaded the most of literature and so the meaning of the term 'Viṣṇu, i. e. 'the all-pervasive' seems to be justified.

In this book the author has surveyed the Vedic and Purāṇic literature and made a philosophical study of the subject. He has dealt with the nature and *Māyā* of Viṣṇu. He has also discussed in detail the devotion of Viṣṇu which is a very prominent aspect. The *avatāras* of Viṣṇu are a popular subject in the Purāṇas and the author is fully justified in giving a detailed account of them in a separate chapter. *Mokṣa* or final beatitude in connection with Lord Viṣṇu is an important aspect and the author has discussed this aspect properly.

Tantra literature has an important role in Viṣṇu cult. The impact of pañcarātra on Epic and Purāṇas can not be denied. Hence it would have been more interesting if a separate chapter on Vaiṣṇava Tantras would have been added.

The book contains ten chapters as follows : 1. The Purāṇas : A bird's eyeview, 2. Viṣṇu in the Vedic literature, 3. The Nature of Viṣṇu, 4. The Māyā of Viṣṇu, 5. Viṣṇu in Trimūrti, 6. Viṣṇu, the Supreme, 7. The Paths of yoga, or communion with Viṣṇu, 8 Devotion to Viṣṇu, 9. Viṣṇu condescends to descend, 10. An aesthetic approach to the Final Achievement.

It is pleasing to note that the author quoted extensively from original texts in each chapter and the reader will be satisfied for this. The gate up and printing are good.

—G. S. Rai

Karpāsa in Pre-historic India (A Chronological and Cultural clue) By K. D. Sethna, Published by Birla Impex Private Limited, New Delhi, 1981, pp. IX, 203. Price Rs. 70/-.

In this book, containing seven chapters, and prepared on the basis of Archaeological and linguistic evidences, the author has successfully established that the period of the Vedic Saṁhitās is between 3500 and 2500 B. C. India has been a principal producer of cotton and she has supplied it to the whole world. In this book Sethna by a close investigation of the term *karpāsa* in Sanskrit literature has shown that the Sutra literature (also of the vedāṅgas) in its stage is contemporaneous with the Harappan culture or the Indus valley civilization of c. 2500-1500 B. C. In this book, as Sankalia has said in his Introduction to the book, Sethna has made a very intelligent use of his deep knowledge of archaeology and Sanskrit literature. He has also established that Vedic Aryans were the original inhabitants of North-Western and Northern India. The book is an original research work and Sethna deserves thanks of all scholars who are working in the search of historical truth. In the words of Sankalia, the book deserves careful consideration and should stimulate further research.

The book contains Appendix, Bibliography and Index.

—G. S. Rai

ACTIVITIES OF THE ALL-INDIA KASHIRAJ TRUST

(July-December, 1982)

Varāha Purāṇa Work

After completion of the Critical edition of the Varāha Purāṇa published in two volumes of pages ix+xcvi+1359+168, as well as of its English translation in a separate volume of pages iii+38+989+71+168, the printing of the Hindi translation is also going on; it will be released at an early date. This volume will have the same appendices as those in the English translation.

Matsya Purāṇa Work

The work of editing the Matsya Purāṇa has been resumed and a new editor has been appointed after the demise of Dr. V. Raghavan who prepared the collation sheets of all the *adhyāyas* and compiled the quotations of the Matsya Purāṇa in the Nibandhas. The work of editing is now continued by one of Raghavan's disciples Dr. C. R. Swaminathan, Deputy Educational Adviser (Sanskrit), Government of India, New Delhi. The Trust is thankful to the Government of India for permitting Dr. C. R. Swaminathan to edit the Matsya Purāṇa.

Garuḍa Purāṇa Work

The collation of the MSS of the Garuḍa Purāṇa continues. At present the Trust is in possession of photocopies, xerox-copies, microfilms or originals of the following MSS :

1. MS No 10/179—Sārasvatī Bhaṇḍāra, Rāmnagar—Devanāgarī, ff. 195—copied in Saṁvat 1878, collation completed.
2. MS No 11/179—Sārasvatī Bhaṇḍāra, Rāmnagar—Devanāgarī—ff. 306—copied in Saṁvat 1898, collation completed.
3. MS No 3820—Shri Ranbir Sanskrit Research Institute, Shri Raghunath Mandir—Jammu, Devanāgarī, ff. 110.
4. MS No 3822—*ib.* as No. 3—Devanāgarī, ff. 59. This is a xeroxcopy of the Brahma Khaṇḍa, the third part of the Garuḍa Purāṇa.

5. MS No 3606—*ib.* as No. 3—Devanāgarī, ff. 108. This is also a xeroxcopy of the Brahma Khaṇḍa.
6. MS No 3602—*ib.* as No. 3—Devanāgarī—ff. 353.
7. MS No 2-2/vol. 8 N 87, National Archives, Kathmandu, Devanāgarī, ff. 335, copied in Saṁvat 1891.
8. MS 1-880—*ib.* as No. 7. Newari, ff. 294.
9. MS No 5-5359, *ib.* as No. 7, Newari, ff. 203.
10. MS No 4-95—*ib.* as No. 7. Newari, ff. 175.
11. MS No 3-911—*ib.* as No. 7. Newari, ff. 306.
12. MS M a. I.29—University of Tübingen (West Germany) Bengali, ff. 123, incomplete, dated 1749 A. D.

Two MSS from Pune have also been collated :

No. 144/1887-91 New No. 25, B. O. R. I., Pune, Devanāgarī, ff. 317.

No. 113/A 1881-82 New No. 4, Devanāgarī, ff. 309.

The microfilms of ten more MSS have already been asked and are due to arrive in short time. 15 more MSS have also been found; agreements for getting their xerox copies or microfilms are in process.

Garuḍa Purāṇa's second part, called Uttara Khaṇḍa (more commonly Pretakalpa or Sāroddhāra or Dharma Khaṇḍa) has also been collated. The photocopies, xeroxcopies, microfilms or originals of the following MSS are at present in possession of the Purāṇa Department.

1. MS 5-5361—National Archives, Kathmandu, Devanāgarī, ff. 70.
2. MS No 12/180—Sārasvatī Bhaṇḍara, Rāmnagar; Devanāgarī, ff 58,
3. MS No 826/5010—Gaṅganāth Jhā Kendrīya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha, Allahabad, Devanāgarī, ff. 57.
4. MS No 524/4861—*ib.* as No 3—Devanāgarī (with *ṭīkā*), ff. 50.
5. MS No 525/4862—ib. as No 3—Maithilī, ff. 18.
6. MS No 3820—Shri Ranbir Sanskrit Research Institute, Shri Raghunath Mandir—Jammu, Devanāgarī, ff. 110.

Ten more MSS are going to be purchased. From the MSS already received it can be deduced that the variations in the number of *adhyāyas* in the Pretakalpa, which usually contains 35 *adhyayas*, are quite large. There are MSS which claim to be complete; they have 11 or 16, 18, 20, 35, 37, 40, 49 *adhyāyas*.

Rare appear to be the MSS of the third *khaṇḍa* of the Garuḍa Purāṇa, called Brahma Khaṇḍa or Tattvarahasya and printed at Bombay in 1906 by Kṣemarāj Veṅkateśwar Steam Press. This edition divides the Garuḍa into two *khaṇḍas* and three *aṁśas* :

1. Prathamāṁśā—Ācārakāṇḍa in 240 *adhyāyas*.
2. Uttara Khaṇḍa, Dvitīyāṁśa, Dharmakāṇḍa, Pretakalpa in 49 *adhyāyas*.
3. Uttara Khaṇḍa, Tṛtīyāṁśa,Brahmakāṇḍa in 29 *adhyāyas*.

At present 8 Paṇḍits are engaged in the work of copying and collating the different MSS in different scripts. As yet only MSS. of Northern India scripts have been taken up, including Devanāgarī, Newari, Bengali and Maithili.

Viṣṇusahasranāma Work

Nine photocopies or microfilms of the Viṣṇusahasranāma have been purchased by the Trust in this period. Five, belonging to the Mahābhārata, were obtained from the British Library (London) and from the Harvard University Library. Four, belonging to the Padma Purāṇa, Uttara Khaṇḍa, were obtained from the National Archives, Kathmandu and from the Harvard University. Among the MSS of the Viṣṇusahasranama belonging to Mahābhārata, noteworthy are the MSS No 13494, in minute Oriya Script of AD 1626 and a beautiful MS in Kashmiri Nāgarī, illuminated, copied in Saṁvat 1869. Among the four photocopies of the Viṣṇusahasranāma belonging to Padma Purāṇa, one is in Newari and the other three in Nāgarī.

No separate MSS of the Viṣṇusahasranāma of the Garuḍa Purāṇa and Skanda Purāṇa have been found. In order to discover whether such MSS. are available in the libraries the Trust has prepared a few cyclostyled sheets on which the initial and the last parts of the above mentioned two Viṣṇusashasranāmas are given. They will be sent to important libraries to see whether such MSS are traceable.

Śivadharmottara Work

The critical edition of the Śivadharmottara Purāṇa, a work available only in manuscript form, is prepared by the All-India Kashiraj Trust with the collaboration of IsMEO (Instituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, Italy). It appears evident that it has to be edited with the contemporaneous critical edition of the Śivadharma Purāṇa, an Upapurāṇa which also has not yet been published, and which is often joint in the collections of MSS in different libraries.

The Trust has got at present seven photocopies or microfilms and one MS of the two works. Among the 34 MSS discovered until now only two are in Devanāgarī, one of the Śivadharma belonging to the Sarasvatī Bhaṇḍāra, Rāmnagar and one of the Śivadharmottara, belonging to the National Archives, Kathmandu. The two Devanāgarī MSS will be temporarily used as ādhāra-pāṭha. At present the collation of the Śivadharma Purāṇa is going on.

Purāṇa Goṣṭhī

On 5th July 1982 the Purāṇa Goṣṭhī was held under the Chairmanship of His Highness Maharaja Dr. Vibhuti Narain Singh in the Shivala Palace of the All-India Kashiraj Trust. Among the eminent scholars were Prof. Baladeva Upadhyaya, Dr. Raghunath Singh, Dr. Vagish Shastri, Dr. Reva Prasad Dwivedi, Dr. Vishwanath Bhattacharya, Prof. Vishwanath Shastri Datar, Prof. S. L. Dar, Sri A. B. Bhattacharya and Sri Vaikuntha Nath Upadhyaya. Before the Purāṇa Goṣṭhī scholars listened Veda Pārāyaṇa of Shukla Yajurveda Mādhyandina Śākhā in Prabhu Narāyaṇeśvara Temple in Shivala. Thereafter Vedic Vasanta Pūjā was performed by Sixteen Brāhmaṇas and Dakṣiṇā was distributed among them by Mahārāja Kumār Anant Narain Singh. Then Purāṇa Goṣṭhī started. after Vyāsa Vandanā and Maṅgalācaraṇa, the Vyāsa Pūrṇimā issue was presented to the Chairman of the Trust, Mahārāja Dr. Vibhuti Narain Singh by the editor of the journal. The work report of past one year of the Trust was presented before the audience by Dr. Ganga Sagar Rai and scholar expressed their opinion. Dr. Ram Shankar Bhattacharya emphasised the importance of the Puranic Study and invited the scholars to contribute in the Purāṇa.

Prof. Baladeva Upadhyaya, Prof. Vishwanath Bhattacharya and Prof. Datar also spoke on the subject. H. H. Maharaja Dr. Vibhuti Narain Singh thanked the scholars for their co-operation. The meeting dispersed after distribution of prasāda and breakfast.

Religious Activities

Besides the above works on the purāṇas the Trust has also conducted the following activites as usual :

1. *Purāṇapāṭha*—Recitation of the Śrī Tripurā Rahasya by Pt. Śrī Rāmajī Miśra, in the Bālā Tripura Sundarī temple of Ramnagar, from Āsāḍha Śukla Pratipad upto Navamī (22-29 June, 1982)

2. *Vedapārāyaṇa*—Recitation by heart of the Śukla Yajurveda, Mādhyandina Śākhā (*Saṁhitā*, *pada*, *krama*) by Pt. Rajaram Nirmale. *Śrotā* was Pt. Badarinath Gadorkar. The recitation took place in the temple of Prabhu-Nārāyaṇeśvara in the Palace of Shivāla at Vārāṇasī, from Āsāḍha Śukla Pratipad upto Pūrṇimā (22-June-6 July, 1982).

3. *Rāsa Līlā*—Inacting of Kṛṣṇa play by actors from Mathurā. The performance took place in the Prasiddha Garden, Ramnagar, from 23.7 to 4.8.1982.

4. *Rāmalīlā* : The thirty days of the play of Rāma started on the 27th of October and ended on the 26th of November, 1982. About ?00 free meals (*baṇḍārās*) were distributed daily to the *sādhus* who came to Rāmnagar to see the performance of the Rāmalīla.

   The All-India Kashiraj Trust is thankful to the Sangeet Natak Akademi, New Delhi, for giving a grant of Rs. 10,000 for custumes and effigies for this year. Such grants will help the Trust to keep alive the tradition of the famous Rāmalīla. Dr. Richard Schechner of the New York University has written a chapter comparing the Rāma Līlā with 'Oberammergau' passion play as staged in a small town in U. S. A. in the book *Celebrations* published by the Smithsonian Institution of Washington. This shows the importance the Rāmnagar Rāmalīlā receives in foreign countries.

Mr. Philip Lutgendorf of U. S. A., a scholar doing his work on the institute of 'Pravacana', attended the Rāmalīlā throughout the 30 days of its performance to study the impact of the presentation from his point of view. The Maharajadhiraj Kumar and Maharaj Kumar of Burdwan with the members of their families were the guests of His Highness for the Dashara Day function at the Fort and for the Rāmalīlā that evening.

Scholar and Distinguished Persons who visited the Purāṇa Department

—The following members of the Review Committee appointed by the Ministry of Education, Govt. of India, visited the Purāṇa Deptt. on 23th August, 1982 at 9 A. M. and assessed the work of the Deptt. :

1. Dr. Vidya Nivas Misra (Chairman), Director, K.M. Munshi Institute of Hindi Language, Agra.
2. Pt. Sri Pattabhiram Shastri, Padmabhushan, Varanasi
3. Dr. K. V. Sharma, Hoshiarpur
4. Dr. C.R. Swaminathan, Deputy Educational Adviser (Govt. of India).

Sri V. N. Kaila, Chief Controller of Accounts, Ministry of Education, was co-opted to the committee. The committee noted after assessment :

"The committee notes with satisfaction the quality of the work published during the period under review."

—Dr. Subhadra Jha, Formerly Librarian of Sampurnanand Sanskrit University, visited the Deptt. on the 24th of August, 1982. A copy of the Purana Bulletin was presented to him.

—Sir C. P. N. Singh, Rajyapal, U. P. visited the Fort, on 24th Aug. 1982. The publications of the Trust were presented to him by His Highness. The procedure of MSS collation was showed to His Excellency who showed keen interest in the work. Various rare manuscripts, including Pañcanāma of Tulasīdāsa and Golden Rāmāyaṇa was shown to His Excellency, the Rajyapal.

Publications of the All-India Kashiraj Trust Displayed in London

The National Book Trust, an autonomous organisation set by the Ministry of Education (Govt. of India), has been entrusted with the organization of Indian Books in London as part of the Festival of India. The exhibition attempted to present a panorama of Indian publishing from the 16th century to the present day. But not more than 1500 books could be selected from among the many thousands published along the centuries and annually. The selection has been made on the basis of the quality of both content and production.

Six books of the All-India Kashiraj Trust have been selected and displayed among the 1500 specimen of all the Indian publications along the centuries.

The books selected were the following :

V. S. Agrawala, *Matsya Purāṇa—A Study*, 1963, mentioned on p. 57.

R. S. Bhattacharya and Others (Eds.) *Purāṇam* : Vasanta Pañcamī Number; this is the Purāṇa Bulletin of Jan., 1982—on p. 59.

A. S. Gupta, (ed.) *Vāmanapurāṇa*, translated by S. M. Mukhopadhyaya and others, 1968—on p. 61.

—id.—*Varāha Purāṇa*, 2 pts., 1981—on p. 61.

D. Nambiar : *Nārada Purāṇa* : *A critical Study*, 1979—on p. 64.

Tulasīdāsa (Goswami) : *Rāmacharita Mānasa*, 1963—on p. 99.

It is a matter of pride that such an appreciation of the publications of the Trust was shown in such an important occasion.

Proposed Seminar on Purāṇas

The Department of South Asian Studies, University of Wisconsion, Madison (U. S. A.) has devoted two panels at the 10th Annual Conference on South Asia which took place in 1981 to the 'State of Puranic Studies'. Examination of the problems in Purāṇic Studies brought the Department to the proposal for a four-day seminar on the Nature, Structure etc. of the Purāṇas in Madison, Wisconsin, in August 1983, which was later postponed to December 1983. A book is also planned, which will contain chapters by participants in the seminar, each based on his or her paper and the discussion surrounding it.

Re-nomination of Dr. G. S. Rai to the Board of Sanskrit Saṁsthāna

The Government of India has again asked our Chairman to nominate a person for the completion of the Board of Sanskrit Saṁsthāna (Delhi). Dr. G. S. Rai of the Purāṇa Department will continue as in the past to be our representative in the board.

Response of Scholars in Our Previous Announcement

In connection with the award to be given to the best book on the Purāṇas as announced in the Purāṇa, Vol. XXIV. 1. Dr. Vinapani Patni has sent her book *Śiva Purāṇa : A poetical Analysis.* We request other scholars also to send their works on Purāṇas for this award. While sending their books scholars should mention clearly that the books are sent for the award.

In connection with the announcement (No. 3) published in the Purāṇa Vol. XXIV. 2 we are glad to inform that some scholars responded. The life of Vyāsa has been taken up by Dr. Vinapani Patni (Delhi) and the lives of Yājñavalkya and Nara-Nārāyaṇa by Dr. Ram Shankar Bhattacharya.

MAHĀRĀJA BANARAS VIDYĀMANDIRA TRUST

Vedic Bālaka Vasanta Pūjā

On the occasion of Mahārājakumāra's birthday a Vedic Vasanta Pūjā performed by boys below 15 years of age took place on 12.12.1982. In this occasion a painting competition among the school children of Rāmnagar took place also. Plays on the ground adjacent to the Fort were organised and prize distributed. This year the Govt. primary schools did not participate in the function.

पुराणम्

(भागः-२५; अङ्कः-१)

PURAṆA

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संस्कृत-खण्डः

संस्कृतविद्वांसोऽभ्यर्थ्यन्ते यत्ते पुराणपत्रिकायां प्रकाशनार्थम् (१) पुराणगत-दर्शनशास्त्र-धर्मशास्त्रविषयपरान् लेखान् (२) पुराणोक्त-दुरुहार्थकास्पष्टार्थकवचोव्याख्यापरान् लेखांश्च प्रेषये-युरिति ।

आंग्लभाषानिबद्धानां लेखानां संक्षेपाः

हिन्दुशास्त्रोक्त–ब्रह्मणः थाइदेशीयसाहित्ये वर्णनम्

HINDU BRAHMĀ IN THAI LITERATURE

MANEEPIN PHROMSUTHIRAK

सृष्टिकर्तुः प्रजापतेर्ब्रह्मणो वर्णनं यथा हिन्दुधर्मसाहित्ये (वेदादिषु) दृश्यते तथा थाइसाहित्ये (थाइ-देशीय-भाषायाम्) ऽपि। उभयोः साहित्ययोर्यद् ब्रह्म-वर्णनं तत्र कीदृशं वैशिष्ट्यमस्तीति लेखेऽस्मिन् विस्तरेण प्रदर्शितम्। [मूललेखे थाइभाषीयग्रन्थानां नामानि प्रदत्तानि; संस्कृत-संक्षेपे तानि विहाय ग्रन्थोक्त-मतान्येव दर्शितानि—इति विज्ञेयम्]

थाइवाङ्मये चतुर्मुखस्य हंसवाहनस्य प्रजापतेर्ब्रह्मणो यत् स्थूलं रूपं तद् हिन्दुशास्त्रीय-ब्रह्मवर्णनानुरूपम्। हैन्दवे (= हिन्दुशास्त्रप्रतिपादिते) ब्रह्मा चतुर्हस्तः, थाइसाहित्योक्तो ब्रह्मा प्रायेणाष्टहस्तः। हैन्दवस्य ब्रह्मणश्चतुर्षु हस्तेषु अक्षमाला, वेदाः, चमसः, दण्डश्च राजन्ते, थाइदेशीयस्य ब्रह्मणो हस्तेषु दण्डो भिक्षापात्रं वेदाश्च विद्यन्ते (चतुर्थं वस्तु न दृश्यते)।

हस्तसंख्यायामपि भेदो दृश्यते। द्वादशशताब्दीत आरभ्य कियत्कालं यावच् चतुर्हस्तो ब्रह्मा थाइसाहित्ये वर्णितः। इदं प्रतीयते यच् चतुर्मुखस्य ब्रह्मणोऽष्ट-हस्तवत्त्वैव समीचीनेति यदा ज्ञातं ततः प्रभृति अष्टहस्तयुतो ब्रह्मा वर्णितः। थाइ-साहित्ये बुद्धस्य प्रमुखसहचररूपेण ब्रह्मा प्राधान्येन चित्रितः। क्वचिदिन्द्रेण सह ब्रह्मणः स्थितिरपि दर्शिता। वस्तुतः थाइसंस्कृतौ बौद्ध-ब्रह्मणा सह हैन्दव-ब्रह्मणः सांकर्यं विद्यत एव। सांकर्यमिदं थाइसाहित्ये न सर्वत्र दृश्यते।

थाइसाहित्ये हैन्दवो ब्रह्मा जगतः स्रष्टा, ज्ञानाधीशः, प्राणिभाग्यविधाता विष्णुनाभिज-कमलोद्भूतः, सत्यलोकाधिपतिः, इत्येवंरूपेण वर्णितः।

ब्रह्मणः सृष्टिकर्तृत्वं थाइग्रन्थविशेषे १४ तमशतकप्रणीते उक्तम्। थाइ-देशीयबौद्धसाहित्ये ब्रह्माणो बहवो नैकसूक्ष्मलोकवासिनः। नेमे सृष्टिक्रियाकर्तारः। क्वचिदेव बौद्धशास्त्रविशेषे सृष्टिकर्तृत्वमुच्यते; एषु ग्रन्थेषु हैन्दवो ब्रह्मा लक्षित इति प्रतिभाति। बौद्धग्रन्थेषु ब्रह्मणश्चतुर्मुखत्वं क्वापि नोक्तम्; अरूपभूमौ ये ब्रह्माणस्ते निराकारा ज्योतीरूपाश्चेति दर्शितम्।

ब्रह्माण्डस्योल्लेखः थाइसाहित्ये क्वचिद् दृश्यते। अण्डसंबद्धो ब्रह्मा हैन्दव इति प्रमाणसिद्धम्। मनुविष्णुपुराणादिषु सृष्टिप्रसंगे ब्रह्मण उल्लेखो वर्तते, तस्यायुः-परिमाणमपि प्रोक्तम्। थाइदेशीयग्रन्थविशेषे ब्रह्मणा सह शिवस्य विष्णोश्च साह-चर्यमुपवर्णितम्; इदमपि अस्य ब्रह्मणो हैन्दवत्वविषये बलिष्ठं प्रमाणम्। ब्रह्म-लोकधारकैः षोडशभिर्ब्रह्मभिः सह हैन्दवब्रह्मणः सांकर्यं साहित्ये स्फुटमव-लोक्यते। अनेन सांकर्येणेदं सिद्धं भवति यद् बौद्धपुराणकथाभिः सह हैन्दव-पुराणकथानां संमिश्रणं जातम्।

बौद्धदृष्ट्या यद्यपि सर्गप्रलयाभ्यां सह ब्रह्मणो न कश्चित् संबन्धस्तथापि थाइसाहित्ये तस्य सृष्टिकर्तृत्वं वर्णितम्; तदिदं सृष्टिवर्णनं शतपथब्राह्मणलिङ्गपुरा-णादि-प्रोक्तसृष्टिवर्णनस्यानुरूपम्। ब्रह्मणो वराहरूपधारणं पुराणेषूक्तम्; इदं थाइसाहित्ये क्वचिदेव दृश्यते। इदं प्रतीयते बौद्धोक्तं सृष्टिविवरणम् ईषत्परिवर्तित-रूपेण थाइवाङ्मये प्राधान्येन स्वीकृतम्। क्वचित् साहित्ये सृष्टिकर्तुः नामान्तरमपि दृश्यते। इदमपि उक्तं यत् केचन ब्रह्माणः सृष्टिकर्तुर्हैन्दवब्रह्मणो विरोधिनो जाता; ततश्च ते असुरा अभवन् निति। मत्स्यरूपिणो विष्णोः कथायां थाइभाषीयायाम् एतादृशस्य विरोधिनो ब्रह्मण उल्लेखो वर्तते। ब्रह्मायं वेदापहारक-शङ्खासुर-रूपेण जात इत्यपि कथायामुक्तम्।

केषुचिद् ग्रन्थेष्विदमप्युक्तं यद् ब्रह्मणो हंसवाहनत्वं शिवाज्ञया संजातम्। वाहनरूपमिमं हंसमधिकृत्यापि थाइसाहित्ये काचित् कथा प्रचलिता दृश्यते।

'बहवो ब्रह्माणः' इति थाइसाहित्ये या धारणा, सा कथं संजातेत्यत्र बहु विचारितं लेखकेन। बौद्धशास्त्रमस्या धारणाया मूलमिति संभावना प्रकटीकृता। सृष्टिकर्त्रा ब्रह्मणा सहैव बौद्धब्रह्माण आविर्भवन्ति—इति थाइसाहित्ये दृश्यते। सृष्टिकर्ता ब्रह्मा बौद्धस्य ब्रह्मणः कृते नगरनिर्माणं करोतीत्यप्युक्तमत्र। रावण-राजधानी-लङ्का-निर्माणप्रसंगे बौद्धब्रह्मणः सहम्पतेरुल्लेखो दृश्यते थाइग्रन्थेषु।

ब्रह्मणो ज्ञानाधीशत्वमातिष्ठन्ते थाइदेशीयाः। उपनिषत्संमतमिदं रूपं ब्रह्मणः। ब्रह्मा वेद-नीतिशास्त्र-राजधर्मादिषु निष्णात इत्यपि थाइसाहित्ये उक्तम्। ब्रह्मा ब्राह्मणानां गुरुः, वेदानां शिक्षक इत्येवंरूपेणापि केषुचित् थाइग्रन्थेषु वर्णितः। स खलु बौद्धधर्मं बौद्धसिद्धान्तांश्च शिक्षयति—इत्यप्युक्तम्।

थाइदेशे इदं मतमपि दश्यते यद् ब्रह्मा शिशूनां कपालेषु भाग्यं लिखति; लेखनमिदं भाग्यरेखेत्युच्यते। कर्म-कर्मफल-सम्बन्धि यद् भारतीयं मतं तद् बौद्धसंप्रदायद्वारा थाइदेशे प्रविष्टा, यथाकालमीषत्परिवर्तिता चेति प्रतीयते।

विष्णुनाभितो ब्रह्मण उत्पत्तिः पुराणेषूक्ता, थाइसाहित्येऽपि। इयं वैष्णवी दृष्टिः, विष्णुसंबद्ध-पुराणेषु दृश्यते। शैवपुराणेष्वपि ब्रह्मजन्मकथोक्ता, परन्तु

एषु शिवापक्षेया विष्णोरवरत्वं दर्शितम्। थाइसाहित्ये न केवलं चतुर्मुखस्य ब्रह्मणः, अपि तु रामस्यापि नाभिपद्मप्रभवत्वमुक्तम्। अस्याः पद्मप्रभवत्वकथाया विचित्रतापि क्वचिद् दृश्यते। ब्रह्मतः पुलस्त्यः, ततश्च रावण इति या पौराणिकी कथा, तदनुरूपा कथापि थाइसाहित्ये विद्यते।

वस्तुतः थाइवाङ्मये ब्रह्मा जगत्-सर्जकरूपेण विष्णुर्जगद्-रक्षकरूपेण शिवश्च जगन्नाशक-रूपेण वर्णितः प्रायेण। यद्यपि ब्रह्मा न सर्वत्र सृष्टिकर्तृरूपेण स्तुतः, तथापि तस्य सत्ता सर्वत्रैवोरीकृता।

भारतवर्षीय-नदी-विवरण-पराणि पुराणवचनानि

THE PURĀṆIC TEXTS RELATING TO THE RIVERS OF INDIA

C. A. Lewis

निबन्धलेखकेनादौ इदं प्रतिज्ञातं यद् 'भारतस्थितपर्वतनदीविषये पुराणेषु बहूक्तम्। किरफिल-महोदयेन, डी० सी० सरकार-महोदयेन चास्मिन् विषये विशेषेण विचारः कृतः। आभ्यां स्थिरीकृतान् पुराणपाठानाश्रित्य नदीविषयकाणि पुराणवचनानि विचार्यन्ते' इति।

एतदनन्तरं नदीनामनिर्देशकाः पुराणश्लोका उद्धृताः, नदीरधिकृत्य विचारश्च कृतः। नदीनां (नदानां च) परिचयः, अधुना ताः कैर्नामभिः केषु स्थलेषु च प्रवहन्ति, इत्येते विषया विशेषतो विचारिताः। आदौ हिमवत्-पाद-निःसृतानां नदीनां, ततश्च यथाक्रमम् पारियात्रपर्वतप्रभवाणाम्, ऋक्षपादप्रसूतानाम्, विन्ध्यपादप्रसूतानाम्, महेन्द्रजातानाम्, शुक्तिमत्प्रभवाणां च नदीनां विवरणं संक्षेप-विस्तराभ्यां प्रदत्तम्।

या नद्योऽद्यापि स्वस्वनामभिः प्रसिद्धा राजन्ते, तासां विवरणं सामान्य-रूपेणैव प्रदत्तम्। भारतीय-नदीनां नामानि ग्रीसादिदेशीयजनैर्यथा उच्चारि-तानि, तानीह क्वचित् क्वचित् प्रदर्शितानि; दृश्यन्तां शतद्रू-चन्द्रभागादिनदीनां नामानि। अलबीरुणि-प्रभृतिभिर्विद्वद्भिः (यैर्वैदेशिकैः भारते स्थित्वा ग्रन्था विरचिताः) अपि नदीविशेषविषये यद् विशिष्टं किमपि उक्तं तदप्यत्र प्रदर्शितम्। नदीनाम्नां पाठभेदाः प्रायेण सर्वत्र प्रदर्शिता लेखकेन, शुद्धपाठविषये प्रयतितं च।

यासां नदीनां (नदानां च) विषये लेखकेन विशेषेण विचारः कृतः, ता इमाः– देविका-गोमती-धूतपापा-बहुदा-तृतीया-निश्चीरा-चक्षु-आपगाः (हिमवत्-प्रभवा नद्यः); वेदवती-वेत्रघ्नी-चन्दना-सदानीरा-चर्मण्वती-नूपा-सिप्राः (पारियात्र-प्रभवा नद्यः); सुरसा-तमसा-पिप्पली-करतोया-विपाशा-वञ्जुला-ऋतवः (ऋक्षप्रभवा नद्यः); पयोष्णी-निर्विन्ध्या-वेण्वा-तोया-महागौरी-दुर्गा-अन्तःशिलाः (विन्ध्यप्रभवा नद्यः); काबेरी (सह्यप्रभवा नदी); ताम्रपर्णी-पुष्पजा-उत्पलावत्यः (मलयप्रभवा नद्यः); ऋषिकुल्या-इक्षुके (महेन्द्रजाते नद्यौ); मन्दगा-कृपा-पलाशिन्यः (शुक्ति-मत्-प्रभवा नद्यः)।

त्रिसामादीनां कासांचन नदीनां स्वरूपं न सम्यग् विज्ञातुं शक्यते—इति लेखकेनोक्तम्। अन्तःशिला-वैतरणी-सुप्रयोगादिनदीनां स्वरूपं सांशयिकम् इत्यपि उक्तमत्र; बाध्यादीनि कानिचन नदीनामानि भ्रष्टानि जातानि—इति च विस्तरेण प्रदर्शितम्।

विचारप्रसंगे लेखकेन महाभारत-वायु-मार्कण्डेयादि - पुराणानां वचांसि उद्धृतानि; राजशेखरादीनां विदुषाम् मतानि, अर्थशास्त्र-बृहत्संहितादि-ग्रन्थानां वचनानि च स्वमतपुष्टये परमतखण्डनाय चाहृतानि।

प्राचीनभारत-भूगोलशास्त्रविदां दे-रायचौधुरी-पर्जिटर-प्रभृतीनां मतानि बहुत्र समालोचितानि; सरकारमहोदय-किरफिलमहोदययो र्मतानि क्वचित् क्वचित् खण्डितानि च (द्र० विपाशातमसादिनदीविवरणपराणि स्थलानि)।

पराशर-पुराण-विषयिणी टिप्पणी

A BRIEF NOTE ON THE PARĀŚARAPURĀṆA

N. GANGADHARAN

धर्मशास्त्रकारेषु पराशरोऽन्यतमः। ज्योतिषादिशास्त्राणामाचार्यरूपेणापि स स्मृतः। इमे सर्वे पराशरनामान आचार्या अभिन्ना इति न निश्चप्रचं वक्तुं शक्यते। कृष्णद्वैपायनवेदव्यासस्य पिताऽपि कश्चन पराशर आसीदिति प्रसिद्धमेव।

अष्टादशसु उपपुराणेषु पराशरोपपुराणस्य नाम गृहीतं विभिन्नेषु ग्रन्थेषु— इति दृश्यते। डा० हाजरामहोदयेन स्वकीये उपपुराणविषयके ग्रन्थे उपपुराणस्यास्य विवरणं न प्रदत्तमिति अत्रास्य विवरणं प्रस्तूयते।

कूर्म-स्कन्द-गरुड-पद्म-देवीभागवत-बृहद्धर्मादिषु पुराणोपपुराणेषु पराशर-पुराणस्यास्य उपपुराणत्वेन उल्लेखः कृतः—केषुचन निबन्धग्रन्थेषु च। क्वचि-

दिदं वायुपुराणस्याशंभूतमित्यप्युक्तम् । उपर्युक्तेषु ग्रन्थेषु पुराणमिदं पराशरोप्रोक्तमिति, पराशरपुराणमिति, पराशरोपपुराणमिति च नामभिः स्मृतम् । यत इदं पुराणम् 'पराशरोक्तमपरम्' इति वाक्येन लक्षितम्, अत इदं पराशरप्रोक्ताद् विष्णुपुराणाद् भिन्नमिति स्पष्टमेव विज्ञायते ।

कूर्मादिषु पुराणेषूक्तम्—व्यासात् पुराणानि श्रुत्वा ऋषिभि रुपपुराणानि प्रणीतानीति । एवं सत्यपि उपपुराणस्यास्य प्राचीनता निर्बाधा, प्राचीने पुराणग्रन्थे एतत्पुराणनाम्नः स्मरणात् । पुराणस्यास्य पञ्चाशत् कोशा (हस्तलेखाः) विद्यन्ते ।

यद्यपि पुराणस्य पञ्च लक्षणानि प्रसिद्धानि, तथापि न सर्वाणि पुराणानि एतल्-लक्षणभूषितानि । पञ्च लक्षणानि सर्गादीनि उपपुराणानामेवेति ब्रह्मवैवर्त-पुराणे निगदितम् ।

पराशरपुराणस्य उपसंहारश्लोके उक्तं यदिदं पुराणमष्टोत्तरसहस्र-परिमितैः श्लोकैर्विरचितम् अष्टादशभिरध्यायै रन्वितं च ।

शिव-महिमप्रधानेऽस्मिन् पुराणे प्रत्येकमध्यायेषु इमे विषयाः प्रतिपादिताः– अ० १–ग्रन्थारम्भः, उपपुराण-विवरणं च; अ० २–ब्रह्माण्डोत्पत्तिः; अ० ३–सृष्टवस्तूनां परस्परं सम्बन्धः; अ० ४–देवतालक्ष्माणि; अ० ५–वेदस्य तात्पर्यम्; अ० ६–परमं रहस्यम्; अ० ७–ब्राह्मणप्रशंसा; अ० ८–वेदस्य तात्पर्यम्; अ० ९–प्रत्यहम् अनुष्ठेयानि कर्माणि; अ० १०–निषिद्धानि कर्माणि; अ० ११–पापकृतां विवरणम्; अ० १२–निषिद्धभक्ष्य-विवरणम्; अ० १३-१५–प्रायश्चित्तानि; अ० १६-१७–शिवपूजा; अ० १८–शास्त्राणां तात्पर्यम् ।

एतदुपपुराणस्याष्टादशतमाध्यायस्य अप्पयाचार्यकृता टीकोपलभ्यते । ग्रन्थस्यास्य समीक्षात्मकं संस्करणं प्रस्तूयते, यथाकालं च तत् प्रकाशमेष्यतीति विज्ञापितम् ।

मत्स्यपुराणम् आदिम-मध्यकालिक-मन्दिरनिर्माणविद्या च

MATSYA-PURĀṆA AND EARLY MEDIEVAL TEMPLE ARCHITECTURE

TAHSILDAR SINGH AND AMAR SINGH

मत्स्यपुराणे सर्गादि-पञ्चलक्षणेभ्योऽतिरिक्ता अपि केचन विषयाः (वर्णाश्रम-धर्मव्रतादयः) विवृता दृश्यन्ते। देवप्रतिष्ठा-वास्तुविद्ये चापि एषु विषयेषु गण्येते। इमौ विषयौ प्राचीनेषु बृहत्संहितादिग्रन्थेषु विचारितौ। निबन्धेऽस्मिन् प्रधानतो वास्तुविद्यामधिकृत्यैव लेखकेन विचारः कृतः। गार्ग्य-मन्वादि-ग्रन्थेभ्यो वास्तुविद्याविषयकाणि मतानि बृहत्संहिताकर्त्रा संगृहीतानि—इत्यभिहितं लेखकेन। इदमप्युक्तम्-मत्स्यपुराणोक्तो वास्तुविद्याविषयोऽपि प्राचीनतराद् ग्रन्थात् संगृहीतः, पुराणकारेणोपबृंहितश्च।

मत्स्यपुराणं वायुब्रह्माण्डपुराणवत् प्राचीनम्। अस्य रचनाकालः ख्रीष्टीय-तृतीयशतकाद् नार्वाचीनः—इति केषांचन विदुषां मतं संगतं प्रतीयते। वस्तुतो गुप्तराज्यकाले पुराणस्यास्य रचना प्रारब्धा; यथाकालमिदमुपबृंहितं च। एतत्पु-राणगतो वास्तुशास्त्रविवरणात्मको भागो नैकस्मिन् काले विरचितः। गुप्तराज्यकाले, ततोऽर्वाचीने कालेऽपि अस्य भागस्य रचना संजाता। अस्यार्वाक्कालिको भागोऽपि ११०० ख्रीष्टीयाब्दात् प्राग्भव इति निश्चितमेव। उपर्युक्तं मतं प्रतिपाद्य लेखकेन प्रत्यध्यायं (२५१ अ०—२६९ अ०) ये ये विषयाः प्रतिपादिताः, तेषां निर्देशो विहितः।

निबन्धेऽस्मिन् प्रासादविधिमधिकृत्य स्वमतं प्रदर्शितं लेखकेन। उक्तं च तेन—विषयोऽयं बृहत्संहिता-विश्वकर्मप्रकाश-वास्तुतिलक-मानसार-आग्नेय-गारुड-भविष्यपुराणेषु च प्रतिपादितः। भविष्यपुराणोक्तं विवरणं मत्स्यपुराणाश्रितम्; बृहत्संहिता पुनर्मत्स्यपुराणगतविवरणस्य मूलम्। विश्वकर्मप्रकाशो बृहत्संहिता-मूलकः। वास्तुतिलकग्रन्थात् प्राग्भावि मत्स्यपुराणम्। मत्स्यपुराणगतविवरणस्य केचनांशा अग्निगरुडपुराणाभ्याम् अर्वाक्कालिका इति। यद्यपि केचन मानसार-ग्रन्थं मत्स्यपुराणादपि प्राचीनतरं मन्यन्ते, तथापि निबन्धकारमतेन मानसारकारो मत्स्यपुराणगतविवरणमंशतो गृहीतवान् इति।

मत्स्यपुराणगत-प्रासादविधिविवरणपरस्यांशस्य यद् वैशिष्ट्यं तद् निबन्धान्ते विस्तरेण प्रदर्शितम्। निबन्धे लिङ्गमानप्रासादस्य, गर्भमानप्रासादस्य, क्षेत्रमान-प्रासादस्य मण्डपपरिवारालयस्य च विशिष्टं विवरणं प्रदत्तम्।

वास्तुविद्यासंबद्धा बहुसंख्यकाः शब्दा आंग्लभाषीयार्थैः सह संगृहीता निबन्धान्ते लेखकेन।

सार्धशतवर्षव्यापि-पुराणाध्ययनसंबन्धि चिन्तनम्
[भाषणाधारेण लिखितोऽयं लेखः]

REFLECTIONS ON ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY YEARS OF PURĀṆA STUDIES

LUDO ROCHER

भारतीयसाहित्येतिहासम् आश्रित्य कश्चिदभिनवो ग्रन्थः प्रणेयः—इति चिन्तितं गुरुवर्येण जान गोन्डामहोदयेन। आदिष्टश्च तेन—मयास्य महाग्रन्थस्य पुराणखण्डनामधेयो भागो लेखनीय इति। स्वीकृतं चेदं कार्यं मया।

पुराणशब्देन न केवलं महापुराणानि उपपुराणानि च ग्राह्याणि, प्रत्युत पुराणजातीयास्तीर्थमाहात्म्यादिपरकाः सर्वे ग्रन्था अपि ग्राह्याः। सन्ति च बौद्धपुराणानि, जैनपुराणानि, देशभाषारचितपुराणानि च।

विन्टर्रनिट्जकृते भारतीयसाहित्यविषयके ग्रन्थे पुराणविषयिणी चर्चा विद्यते। तेन पुराणसाहित्यप्रदर्शिका सूच्यपि प्रदत्ता; केषाञ्चन पुराणविदुषां नामान्यपि प्रदत्तानि। विन्टर्निट्जकालात् पश्चात् पुराणाध्ययने शैथिल्यं जातम्। गौणं पुराणम् (अर्थात् मूलपुराणनामभिः प्रचलितानि नवीनानि पुराणानि पुराणांशान् वा) अवलम्ब्य किमपि वक्तुमिच्छामि। पुराणसाहित्यविषये इदानीन्तनानां विदुषां या धारणा तस्याः समीचीनत्वे अस्ति संशयस्यावकाश इति मे मतम्।

विलसन्महोदय आधुनिकरीतिसिद्धस्य पुराणाध्ययनस्य मूलपुरुषः। प्रत्येकं पुराणानां विषयान् अवलम्ब्य तेन सूच्यादयः प्रणीताः। प्रतिपुराणस्वरूपविषये विलसन्मतमेव प्राधान्येनाश्रितं विन्टर्निट्जमहोदयेन। वस्तुतो विलसन्महोदयस्य मतान्येव पाश्चात्त्यविद्वद्भि राश्रितानि, भारतीयविद्वद्भिरपि।

विलसन्महोदयेनेदं चिन्तितं यत् पुराणानां यत् प्रचलितं रूपं तन्न प्राचीनम्; किञ्च तद् अर्वाचीनसांप्रदायिकमतैः प्रभावितं च। तेन इदमपि भाषितं यत् प्रचलितानि पुराणानि कियदंशतो नवीनानि; यान्येषां प्राचीनानि रूपाणि तान्येव समीचीनानि (मूलभूतानि) इति। मतमिदं न संशेरते विद्वांसः। पुराणानां यानि प्राचीनानि रूपाणि तान्येव समीचीनानीति मतमत्र परीक्ष्यते।

प्रचलितानि पुराणानि सांप्रदायिकमतबहुलानि—इति एषां प्राचीनपुराणविकृतिस्वरूपत्वे हेतुर्विलसन्-महोदयेन प्रदत्तः। हिन्दुधर्मस्य द्वौ भागौ—वेदकालिकः, पुराणकथा-वीरगाथाकालिकश्च—इति अनेन विदुषा चिन्तितम्। द्वितीयभागस्य प्राचीनतमं रूपं महाभारते दर्शितम्, अर्वाचीनं च पुराणैः। परस्परभिन्ना-

नेकसंप्रदायोपसनापराणि पुराणानि, तानि क्वचित् परस्परविरुद्धान्यपि मतानि प्रचारयन्ति। साम्प्रदायिकमतबहुलस्य पुराणस्यावश्यम् एवास्ति सांप्रदायिक-मतविरहितं प्राचीनं रूपम्—इति विलसन्महोदयो मन्यते।

पौराणिकसंप्रदायेऽपि पुराणानि सात्त्विकादिभेदेन भिन्नानीति अभ्युप-गम्यते। प्रचलिते पुराणे सांप्रदायिकी मनोवृत्तिः सुदृढेति नापलपनीयम्। एकाधिकसंप्रदायमतपराण्यपि पुराणानि दृश्यन्ते—यथा पद्मपुराणम्। आधुनिक-गवेषकैर्मन्यते—वामनपुराणमादौ शैवमासीत्, ततश्च वैष्णवेन केनचिद् वैष्णवमत-प्रधानपुराणरूपेणेदं विपरिणमितम्। इमे वैष्णवादिसंप्रदाया नात्यन्तं प्राचीना इति इमे मन्यन्ते।

पुराणस्य प्राचीनतमे स्वरूपे सर्गादीनि पञ्च लक्षणानि आसन्, इति विलसन्महोदय आह। स कथयति—केषुचित् प्रचलितेषु पुराणेषु इमानि पञ्च लक्षणानि न संगच्छन्ते, केषुचिच्चांशतः। एतेनापि ज्ञायते प्रचलितानि पुराणानि न मूलभूतानीति। मम मते सर्गादिलक्षणानि समूलानि नवेति आदौ विज्ञेयम्; सर्गादीनां स्वरूपं सम्यग् ज्ञातमस्माभि र्नवेति जागर्ति संशयः।

बहुषु पुराणेषु प्रतिपुराणीयविषयाणाम् उल्लेखो वर्तते। प्राचीने मूलभूते पुराणे इमे विषया आसन्, न प्रचलिते (यत इमे विषयाः प्रचलिते पुराणे न सम्यग्रूपेण प्रतिपादिताः), अतः प्रचलितं पुराणम् प्राचीनपुराणविपरिणामभूतम्—इति इदानीन्तनानां गवेषकाणां मतम्।

अत्रेदं विज्ञेयं यत् पुराणग्रन्थेषु प्रत्येकं पुराणस्य श्लोकपरिमाणमुक्तम्। यद्यपि गणनायां कृतायां प्रतिपुराणगत-श्लोकानां संख्या पुराणोक्तश्लोकपरिमाणेन सह न सर्वथा संवदति, तथापि पुराणजातं चतुर्लक्षश्लोक-परिमितम् इति सर्वेषू-क्तम्। आसन्नचतुर्लक्षश्लोकपरिमितं च पुराणम् इति प्रत्यक्षतो दृश्यते। इदं प्रतीयते यत् पुराणलेखकाः प्रतिपुराण-श्लोकपरिमाणविषये न बद्धादराः; वयमपि तथैव।

निबन्धग्रन्थेषु ये पुराणश्लोका उद्धृतास्ते यदि प्रचलितेषु पुराणेषु नोपलभ्यन्ते तर्हि ते प्राचीनपुराणान्तर्गताः—इति हाजरा-महोदयो मन्यते। पुराणस्य एकस्यां शाखायामुपलभ्यमाना इमे उद्धृताः श्लोका न शाखान्तरे उपलभ्यन्ते—इत्यपि दृश्यते। अस्ति प्राचीनतरं पुराणं प्रचलितपुराणमूलभूत-मिति हाजरामहोदयोऽपि आतिष्ठते।

उपर्युक्तसमस्यानां विषये मम किमपि स्वतन्त्रं मतं वर्तते। सर्वे आधुनिका गवेषकाः कथयन्ति—प्राचीनतमेन केनापि एकेन पुराणेन सह संबद्धानि प्रचलितानि पुराणानि; वस्तत इमानि मूलभूतस्य पुराणस्य सांप्रदायिकमतसंकीर्णरूपात्मकान्येव;

कानिचन अत्यन्तं विपरिणतानि, अन्यानि पुनरंशतः। प्रत्येकं पुराणेषु एवं-विधानि प्रकरणानि सन्ति यानि पुराणान्तरेष्वपि दृश्यन्ते। इमानि प्रकरणानि पुराणसदृशेभ्यः स्वतन्त्रेभ्यो वा ग्रन्थेभ्यः पुराणकारैः संगृहीतानि। सन्ति प्रकर-णानि यानि नैकपुराणगतानि। विभिन्नेषु पुराणेषु यत् पञ्चलक्षणविवरणं तत् तथैव भिन्नं यथा एकस्यैव ग्रन्थस्य हस्तलेखगताः पाठभेदाः—इति किरफिल्-महोदयो मन्यते। तेन मूलभूतं पुराणं कीदृशमासीदित्यपि चिन्तितम्।

आधुनिकगवेषकचिन्तितेष्वेषु मतेषु संशयानोऽहम्। वेदशास्त्रस्य गुरु-शिष्यपारम्पर्यानुसारेण यथा संचारणं भवति, न तथा पुराणानाम् इति न विज्ञातं पाश्चात्त्यै विद्वद्भिस्तदनुगैर्भारतीयैरपि। परम्परारक्षितानां वेदानां पाठे न परिवर्तनं जातम्—एतादृशी स्थितिः पुराणेषु न दृश्यते।

स्वमतप्रख्यापनात् प्राक् किमपि उदाहरणं दीयते। १८०५ ख्रीष्टीयाब्दे विलफोर्डमहोदयेन केनचित् पण्डितः पुराणश्लोकविशेषानुसन्धानाय अनुरुद्धः। तेन पण्डितेन पुराणपाठे परिवर्तनं कृतम्, स पाठश्च विलफोर्डमहोदयाय प्रदत्तः। उदाहरणान्तरमपि। १८७० ख्रीष्टीयाब्दे बूहलरमहोदयेन नीलमतपुराणस्य प्रतिलिपिः प्राप्ता काश्मीरमहाराजद्वारा। यदा बूहलर्महोदयः स्वयं काश्मीरं गत्वा नीलमतपुराणस्य हस्तलेखं ददर्श, तदा तेन दृष्टं यत् सर्वेषु हस्तलेखेषु पुराणस्या-स्यादिमांशो नास्तीति। लिपिकरेण पण्डितेन लुप्तांशस्य विरचनं कृत्वैव पुराणस्य प्रतिलिपिः कृता।

यद्यप्यहं पाश्चात्त्यभाषाशास्त्रादिषु निष्णातः, तथापि मम विचारसरणिः पूर्वोक्ताभ्यः सरणिभ्यो विलक्षणा। पाश्चात्त्यदृष्टिः पुराणक्षेत्रे न प्रयोज्येति मम मतम्। पौराणिकानां परम्परा अवैज्ञानिकीति कथनमपार्थकमेव। विलफोर्ड-बूहलराभ्यां यद् अनुभूतं तत् सत्यम्, परन्तु अस्माकं कर्तव्यं न खलु दोषदर्शनम्, प्रत्युत अवबोधनम्, येन पुराणस्वरूपं यथार्थतो विज्ञातं स्यादिति।

पौराणिकेन अर्थात् सूतेन सह संबद्धानि पुराणानि। सूतः खलु आख्यायिकावाचकः। अद्यापि भारते मन्दिरादिषु स्थित्वा सूताः पौराणिक-कथा-प्रवचनेन जनान् आह्लादयन्ति। एकैव कथा एभिः सूतैर्बहुभी रूपैः प्रोच्यते–नवीन-विषयाणां संयोजनेन, प्राक्तनविषयाणां वियोजनेन। अतो विज्ञायते यद् आदावेव विभिन्नप्रवचनजनित-विभिन्नरूपाणि पुराणानि आसन्, तान्येव परवर्तिनि काले ग्रन्थरूपेण लिखितानि; लिखितग्रन्थे कृत्स्नं पुराणं समाविष्टमिति नास्थेयम्।

कस्यचित् पुराणस्य आङ्गल-भाषान्तरं दृष्ट्वा कश्चिज् जर्मनदेशीयो विपश्चिद् वक्ति यदिदं भ्रान्तिबहुलमिति। मत्स्यपुराणस्य यद् आङ्गलभाषान्तरं तन्न मुदितपुराणग्रन्थानुसारि, प्रत्युत कथानां सारभूतोंऽश एव प्रदत्तो भाषान्तरे। भारतीयभाषाभिः पुराणानां येऽनुवादाः कृताः, तेषामपि स्थितिरीदृश्येव।

पुराणानां यानि संस्करणानि व्यवह्रियन्ते, न तानि हस्तलेखाधारेण संपादितानि, अत एतानि न कथमपि मूलभूतपुराणरूपाणि भवितु मर्हन्ति। किञ्च विभिन्नहस्तलेखाधारेण मुद्रितानि पुराणानि विभिन्नेषु प्रान्तेषूपलभ्यन्ते विभिन्न-रूपाणि। कानिचन पुराणानि पुनरेकस्यैव मुद्रितपुराणस्य पुनर्मुद्रणजनित-रूपात्मकान्येव।

अतो मुद्रितपुराणाधारेणास्माकं पुराणसंबद्धा गवेषणाऽपूर्णैव स्यात्। काशिराजन्यासेन पुराणानां समीक्षात्मकसंस्करणप्रणयने प्रयत्नो विधीयते। पुराणगतसमस्या महाभारत-रामायणगतसमस्या अतिशेरते। यत एकैव कथाऽनेकस्मिन् पुराणे दृश्यते, अतः पुराणविशेषस्य समीक्षात्मकं संस्करणं सर्वपुराणानां समीक्षात्मकानि संस्करणानि अपेक्षते। न खलु किमपि पुराणं सुसंहत-ग्रन्थ-विशेषरूपः। अतः पुराणगतानां विषयविशेषाणाम् अनेकपुराणप्रोक्तानामेव अध्ययनं करणीयम्—अनेनैव विषयस्यास्य समीचीनं ज्ञानं भवितुमर्हति। पुराणाध्ययने पाश्चात्त्यभाषाशास्त्रमतानुसरणं न करणीयम्।

वस्तुतः कथाख्यायिकादय एव पुराणानि; उपलब्धानि पुराणानि पुनर् अर्वाचीने काले पौराणिकैः प्रणीतानि कथादिसंग्रहात्मकानि। ब्रह्मपद्मादीनि पुराणनामानि न प्राचीनानीति। पुराणान्तर्गता अवान्तरकथादयो वस्तुतः स्वतन्त्राणि पुराणान्येव, एतेषां संग्रहात्मकानि खलु प्रचलितानि पुराणानि। अतः प्रचलितस्य कस्यचित् पुराणस्य यद् रचनाकालनिर्धारणं क्रियते तत् सर्वथा व्यर्थमेव।

भारतीया परम्परा पुराणस्य यादृशं स्वरूपं वास्तवं मन्यते, तस्य परिज्ञान-मेव मम लक्ष्यभूतमिति।

पुराणस्वरूपविषयिणी विचारणा

REMARKS ON THE NATURE OF THE PURĀṆAS

GIORGIO BONAZZOLI

बहुभिदृष्टिभि रनेकेन विदुषा पुराणान्यालोचितानि, पुराणरचनाकालादय-श्च विषया विस्तरेण विवेचिताः। यत एषु विषयेषु प्रायेण मतभेदा एव विलोक्यन्ते, अतः प्रतीयते समीचीनमत-निर्धारणाय उपायविशेषः खल्वन्वेषणीयः।

पुराणग्रन्थस्वरूपं बहुविधम्; पुराणानि न किमपि लक्षणं सर्वथानुसरन्ति। किञ्च तानि सदैव विपरिणममानानि। एकमेव पुराणमेकेन बहुभिर्वा विरचि-तमित्यपि निर्धारणीयम्। पुराणस्वरूपस्य यो विपरिणामस्तस्य परिज्ञानं

पुराणार्थज्ञानायावश्यकम् । पुराणस्वरूपम् अधिकृत्य न किमपि विचारितं शबरादिभिराचार्यैः । पुराणप्रामाण्यादय एव तेषां विचारणीया विषया इति दृश्यते ।

पुराणं सर्गादिपञ्चलक्षणवदित्युच्यते । न चेमानि लक्षणानि प्रचलितेषु पुराणेषु संगच्छन्ते; प्राचीनपुराणानि एतल्लक्षणयुक्तानि भवेयुरिति संभाव्यते । निरुक्तस्थं यत् पुराणलक्षणं (पुरा नवं भवति) तत् पुराणेषु सुष्ठु प्रवर्तते, यद्यपि लक्षणमिदं न पुराणे उक्तम् ।

सन्ति पुराणेषु पुराणस्वरूपनिदर्शकानि तत्त्वानि, यैः पुराणस्वरूपमवगन्तुं शक्यते । तेषां कानिचनाधिकृत्येह विचारः क्रियते ।

(१) पुनरादिशब्दाः— पुनरिति, भूय इति वा शब्दः कथादीनामारम्भे पुराणेषु प्रयुक्तो दृश्यते । कदाचिच्च 'किं भूयः श्रोतुमिच्छसि' 'श्रोतुमिच्छामहे पुनः' इत्येवंजातीयकानि वाक्यान्यपि कथादीनामारम्भे दृश्यन्ते । 'कथनस्याधिक्यम्' 'पुनःकथनं वा' उपर्युक्तैः शब्दै र्ज्ञाप्यते । एकैव पूर्वप्रचलिता कथा पुराणे नैकधा प्रोक्ता । एतादृशं प्रवचनं न सहसा कृतम्, न वा रहसि, प्रत्युत सर्वैर्विज्ञातं यथा स्यात् तथा कृतम् । यथा प्राक्सिद्धेषु कथादिषु नवीनं वस्तु पुराणकारैः संयोजितम् तथा तदेव वस्तु पुराणेषु पुनः कथितम्—इति द्वयी स्थितिः पुराणस्वरूपे लक्ष्यते । पुराणं न किमपि सर्वथा नवीनं शास्त्रम्, प्रत्युत पूर्वज्ञातवस्तुसंबद्धं शास्त्रं यत् सदैव विपरिणममानरूपेणावतिष्ठते—इति विज्ञापितं स्वयमेव पुराणकारैः ।

क्वचिदुच्यते—शिष्य-प्रशिष्यद्वारेण एकमेव पुराणं विपुली क्रियते । पुराणग्रन्थस्य कलेवरे वृद्धिः कथं जातेत्यनेन विज्ञायते । पुराणशरीरे इयं संयोजनप्रक्रिया सर्वथा स्वाभाविकीति मन्तव्यम् । संयोजनदृष्ट्या पुराणसाहित्यमितरेभ्यो विलक्षणम् ।

पौराणिकविषयाणां प्रतिपादनं पुराणेषु समासेन विस्तरेण वा कृतमिति प्रत्यक्षतो दृश्यते । पुराणभिन्ने ग्रन्थे यो विषयो विस्तरेणोक्तः स पुराणे समासेन प्रतिपादित इति दृश्यतेऽग्निपुराणादिषु । यदा खलु एक एव विषय एकस्मिन् पुराणे समासतः, अन्यस्मिंश्च विस्तरतः, तदा विचारणा जायते—कीदृशं प्रतिपादन मादौ कृत मिति । यदादौ समासेनोक्तं तत् कालान्तरे विस्तरेणोच्यते—इत्येवंविधो नियमो न पुराणक्षेत्रे प्रयोक्तुं शक्यते ।

(२) वेदोपबृंहणम्—वेदविषयिका या पुराणदृष्टिः, तयापि पुराणस्वरूपनिर्धारणं कर्तुं शक्यते । इयं दृष्टिस्त्रिधा— (क) यद् वेदेनोक्तं तदेव, तत्सदृशमेव वा पुराणेन प्रतिपाद्यते । अतएव पुराणं वेदवत् नित्यमित्युच्यते । (ख) वेदसार-

मयम्, वेदसिद्धान्तबोधकम्, वेदसंमतार्थप्रतिपादकं पुराणमिति । (ग) वेदार्थपूरकं वेदोपबृंहकं पुराणमिति ।

इयं तृतीया दृष्टि र्वेदार्थव्याख्यानकाले वेदमतप्रदर्शनकाले च पुराणेष्ववलोक्यते। पुराणेषु यत्र वैदिकशब्दानामर्था दर्शिता स्तत्र वेदोपबृंहणस्य उदाहरणानि दृश्यन्ते। याभिर्दृष्टिभिः पुराणकारै र्वेदार्थव्याख्यानं कृतं ता दृष्टय आलोचनार्हाः। वेदार्थादधिकोऽर्थः प्रतिपादितः पुराणे, स च न वेदविरोधी—इत्यभ्युपेयमेव ।

'यथाश्रुतम्' 'यथोदितम्' इत्येवमादिभिः पुराणप्रयुक्तैः शब्दैरिदं विज्ञायते यद् वेदे प्राचीनपरम्परायां वा यद् आसीत्तदेव पुराणे उच्यते। यथाश्रुतादिशब्दास्तदा विशेषेण प्रयुज्यन्ते यदा किमपि नवीनं वस्तु प्रतिपादयितु मिष्यते पुराणकारैः। 'यथामती' त्येवमादिभिः पुराणप्रयुक्तैः शब्दैः पुनरिदं विज्ञाप्यते—हेतुविशेषप्रयुक्तः पुराणकारः किमपि वस्तु प्रतिपिपादयिषति। इदं निश्चितं यत् पुराणोक्तो विषयो वेदोक्ताद् विषयाद् विपुलतरः। प्राक्कालिकानां विषयाणां विस्तारणं पुराणस्योद्देश्यम्, अतः पुराणद्वारा यदि वेदार्थः क्रियेत तर्हि स गभीरतरः पूर्णतरश्च स्यादिति मन्ये ।

(३) वेदस्मृतिष्वदृष्टा अपि विषयाः पुराणे प्रतिपादिता इति पुराणेषूक्तम्। अतो वेदपूरकं स्मृतिपूरकं च पुराणमिति गम्यते। किं च प्रागज्ञातानां विषयाणां चर्चाऽपि पुराणे विद्यत इत्यभ्युपेयम्। एवंविधा विषया गुह्य-गूढ़-निगूढाप्रकाशादिशब्दानां प्रयोगं कृत्वा पुराणकारैः प्रतिपादिताः। गूढादिशब्दान् प्रयुज्य पुराणं स्वकीयं प्रामाण्यमपि प्रकटयति। यतो हि वेदानुक्तो विषयः पुराणे प्रतिपाद्यते, अतः पुराणविषयश्रवणार्थं मुनीनां कौतूहलं जायते। किं च प्राक्कालिककथादीनामुपबृंहितरूपाणां श्रवणाय मुनीनां जिज्ञासा पुराणेषु वर्णिता, अतो गम्यते कथादीनां रूपाणि क्रमशो विवर्धितानि। एते नवीनांशा नाप्रामाणिकाः; परम्परायां रक्षिता ये उपदेशादयस्तान् संयोज्य कथादीनामुपबृंहणं कृतमिति विज्ञायते। ये पुराणोक्ता विस्तरार्थास्ते परम्परासिद्धाः, प्रामाणिकाश्च; अतो 'वेदार्थादपि पुराणार्थोऽधिकः'; 'वेदः पुराणे प्रतिष्ठितः' इति बहुश उक्तम् ।

उपर्युक्तान्मतादिदमपि सिध्यति—पुराणतः सर्वशास्त्राणां प्रवृत्तिरिति। न खलु वेदादेव सर्वमर्थजातं पुराणं गृह्णातीति मन्तव्यम्। परम्पराबाह्यं किमपि न गृह्णाति पुराणमित्यपि स्वीकरणीयम्। परम्परारूपमूलेन सह संबन्धयुक्तत्वात् पुराणानां क्रमिक उद्भवो वृक्षशाखासदृश इत्यभ्युपेयम्। शाखाशब्दो यथा वेदक्षेत्रे प्रयुज्यते तथा पुराणक्षेत्रेऽपि ।

(४) पुराणविपरिणामे केचन हेतवो भवन्ति। कालप्रभावः प्रथमो हेतुः; प्रतिपाद्यविषयाणां संयोजनं वियोजनं च यथाकालं कृतं पौराणिकैः। कालभेदानुसारेण पुराणसंख्या-परिमाणानि भिद्यन्ते—इति कथ्यते। पुराणागततीर्थादिविषया अपि कालभेदेन भिद्यन्त इति दृश्यते। कालभेदेन मनुष्यजीवनस्य यतः परिवर्तनं भवति, अतो जीवनोपयोगिपुराणस्य विरचनेऽपि भेद आपतति, अतएव युगभेदेन पुराणानि भिद्यन्त इत्युक्तम्। देवादीनां प्राधान्याप्रधान्ये यदा यथा जायते, तदा तेषां प्रतिपादनमपि पुराणकारैस्तथा क्रियते। प्रतिपाद्यविषयाणां भिन्नत्वे विरोधित्वे सत्यपि सर्वकालेषु पुराणशास्त्रस्याभिन्नत्वमपि अभ्युपगतम्। तदिदं 'पुराणमेकमेवासीत् सर्वकल्पेषु' इत्यादिवचनेभ्यो विज्ञायते।

पुराणस्वरूपस्य विपरिणामे द्वितीयो हेतुर्लोकः। अतएव 'लोकगौरवात् पुराणानि भिद्यन्ते' इत्युद्घुष्यते। यतो लोकहिताय पुराणानि प्रवर्तितानि, अतो लोकप्रवृत्ति-भेदमपेक्ष्य पुराणानां विरचनं कृतमिति स्वीकरणीयम्। शूद्रादीनां कृते पुराणानि विशेषतो विरचितानि, अतस्तदुपयोगिनो विषयाः पुराणे विशेषेण प्रतिपादिता इत्यप्यभ्युपेयम्। लोकाचाराणां विवरणमपि अनेनैव हेतुना पुराणकारैः प्रदत्तम्। लोकेतिशब्देन देशोऽपि गृह्यते। पुराणविरचने देशस्य प्रभावः स्फुट एव।

विभिन्नेषु देशकालजनेषु येऽर्थाः पुराणेषूक्ताः, तेषां तात्पर्यमस्माभिर्विज्ञेयम्। पुराणकारेण स्वेच्छयैव कालादीनां प्रभावं स्वीकृत्य विषयाः प्रतिपादिताः। अस्वारसिकरूपेणापि केचन विषयाः पुराणे निरूपिताः, यतस्ते विषया लोकोपयोगिनो लोकाभीष्टप्रदाश्च। अस्वारसिकविषयाणां प्रतिपादनं पुराणे विद्यते—इति पुराणवाक्यतः स्फुटं विज्ञायते। अत इदमभ्युपेयं यत् पुराणे प्राक्तनै विषयैः सह नवीना विषया अपि प्रतिपादिताः।

परस्परपूरकविषयाणां परस्परविरोधि-विषयाणां च समावेशात् संहितेति शब्दः पुराणशब्देन सह प्रयुक्तः। संहननकरणादेव कानिचन पुराणानि विश्वकोशसदृशानि जातानि। परिणम्यमान-स्वरूपाणि पुराणानि स्वविषय-विज्ञानाय प्रमाणभूतान्येव। विषयाणां प्रतिपादनं तथा कृतं यथा सर्वजनग्राह्यास्ते भवेयुः। पुराणानां सर्वजनोपकारिता बहुकर्तृकता च सम्यक् सिद्धा।

पुराणकर्तॄणां स्वभावभेदोऽपि पुराणविपरिणामे हेतुः। यथा द्वैपायनादयः पुराण-कर्तारः सुविज्ञाताः, तथा अज्ञाता अपि पुराणकर्तार आसन्। यद्यपि व्यास एव पुराणाकर्तृत्वेन स्मर्यते प्रायेण, तथापि तत्त्वतो व्यासपदभाजः सर्वेऽपि जनाः पुराणानि रचयामासुरिति निश्चप्रचम्। युगभेदेन पुराणकर्तारो भिद्यन्त इति पुराणत एव विज्ञायते। अष्टाविंशतिर्व्यासाः प्रतिद्वापरं पुराणं प्रणीतवन्त इति

पौराणिकी प्रसिद्धिः पुराणकर्तॄणां बहुत्वं साधयति। पुराणग्रन्थगता ये खण्डा भागा वा तेऽपि रचयितृ-बहुत्वमनुमापयन्ति। वेदविभाग-कारो व्यासः पुराणस्यापि प्रणेतेति कथनेन इदमपि संभाव्यते यत् पुराणानां स्वरूपं वेदशाखासदृशमेव। यथा मतिभेदो वेदशाखानाम् उद्भवे हेतु स्तथा दृष्टिभेदः पुराणानामुद्भवे हेतुरिति कथयितुं शक्यत एव। वस्तुतः पौराणिकसंप्रदायमूलकानि पुराणानि। पुराणस्वरूपविषये दिङ्मात्र मिह दर्शितं येन वाचका विषयेऽस्मिन्नाकृष्टा भवेयुरिति।

अद्वैतवेदान्त-पुराणयो र्दृष्टया काश्या अर्थस्तात्पर्यं च

KĀŚĪ-ITS MEANING AND SIGNIFICANCE IN THE LIGHT OF ADVAITA-VEDĀNTA AND THE PURĀṆAS

Dr. S. Vijay Kumar

भारतीयदर्शनानां खलु शीर्षभूतमद्वैतवेदान्तदर्शनम्। 'ब्रह्म सत्यं जगन्मिथ्या जीवो ब्रह्मैव नापरः' इत्यस्य मौलः सिद्धान्तः। एतन्मते ज्ञानमेव मोक्षस्य साधनम्; एतज्ज्ञानाधिगमनायैव उपासना यज्ञादिकर्माणि चानुष्ठेयानि।

काश्यां मरणादपि मुक्तिर्भवतीत्यस्ति परम्पराप्रसिद्धं मतम्। यदि काश्यां मरणादेव मुक्तिः स्यात् किमर्थं तर्हि कर्मानुष्ठेयम्, ज्ञानं चाधिगन्तव्यमिति जायते विचारणा। अद्वैतवेदान्तमतेन सह काशीमरणमोक्षवादस्य विरोधः स्फुट एव।

मतयोरनयोः समन्वयोऽपि पद्मादिषु पुराणेषु दृश्यते। अत्रोक्तं यत् काश्यां मरणकाले ईश्वरो मुमूर्षुं जनं दिव्यं ज्ञानम् उपदिशति, ततश्च स मोक्षमधिगच्छतीति। क्वचित् पुराणेषु दिव्यज्ञानप्रदानां मन्त्राणामपि कथनमस्मिन् प्रसंगे दृश्यते। वेदान्ती रामाद्वयाचार्योऽपि मतमिदं प्रतिपादयति।

काशीखण्डादिषु काशी-वाराणसी-अविमुक्तानां माहात्म्यं गीयते। किमेतानि नामानि एकस्यैव स्थानस्य उत बहूनामित्यपि प्रश्नो जागर्ति। काश्याः सीमा, वाराणसी-अविमुक्तान्तर्गृहाणां सीमाश्च पूर्वाचार्यैर्निरूपिता, एतेषां वैशिष्ट्यमपि प्रोक्तम्।

यतः काश्यादयः स्थानविशेषा एव, अत एषु मरणं न मुक्तिदायकं भवितु मर्हति। परमकारुणिक ईश्वरोऽत्रैव दिव्यं ज्ञानं प्रयच्छति नान्यत्र—इत्यत्र न कापि विनिगमना दृश्यते। ये जना अन्यत्र म्रियन्ते, तानीश्वरः किमर्थं नोपदिशति ज्ञानमिति प्रश्नोऽपि दुःसमाधेयः। यतो मोक्षार्थमेव कश्चित् काश्यां मरणं वाञ्छति, अतः स ईश्वरकृपया मुक्तिभाग् भवतीत्यत एव मतमिदं निर्दोषमिति कश्चिदाह। इदमपि न तर्कसहमिति लेखकेन प्रदर्शितम्।

वस्तुतः काशी-वाराणसी-शब्दौ आध्यात्मिकभावपरौ। मतमिदं जाबालोपनिषदि रामोत्तरतापनीये च दृश्यते। उपनिषद्वाक्यैरवगम्यते यच् शरीरगतावाध्यात्मिकस्थानविशेषौ (भ्रूमध्य-नासारूपौ) वरणासी-नद्यौ, एतन्मध्ये वाराणसी इत्यतः सापि आध्यात्मिकदेशविशेष एव। एतत्स्थानसंपादितोपासना मुक्तिप्रदज्ञानाविर्भावहेतुभूतेति। गीतायामपि 'भ्रूमध्यस्थानावलम्बनं प्रयाणकाले योगिना क्रियते' इत्युक्तम्। काशीखण्डे इडा-पिङ्गलारूपिण्यौ असिवरणे, सुषुम्नारूपमविमुक्तमित्युक्तम्।

काशधातुनिष्पन्नकाशीति शब्देन सर्वप्रकाशकं ब्रह्म लक्ष्यते। मणिकर्णिका मनोनिवृत्तिरूपा, गङ्गा ज्ञानरूपा, काशी पुनर्निजबोधरूपा—इति शङ्कराचार्य आह। यतः काशीतिशब्देन ब्रह्म लक्ष्यते, अतः 'काशीमरणान् मोक्षः' इति मतेन सह 'ज्ञानान्मोक्षः' इति मतस्य न कश्चिद् विरोधः।

निबन्धस्योत्तरार्धे लेखकेन तीर्थस्वरूपमधिकृत्य विचारः कृतः। तेनोक्तं यद् वस्तुतस्तीर्थस्नानमात्रेण न चित्तशुद्धिर्भवति; सदाचरणमेव तत्त्वतस्तीर्थम्, तेनैव मनःशुद्धिर्भवति। एवं सत्यपि पृथिव्याः केचन स्थानविशेषाः साधुनिवासादिहेतुतो भवन्ति मेध्यतमा इति पुराणेषूक्तम, अतस्तीर्थस्नानादीनां पुण्यजनकता नापलपनीया। तीर्थस्नानादीनि तपोविशेषा एव, तपश्चात्मदर्शनसाधनमिति श्रुतावुक्तम्।

आत्मा खल्वङ्गुष्ठमात्ररूपेण जनानां हृदये सन्निविष्ट इत्युपनिषत्सूक्तम्। अस्य तात्पर्यं निबन्धान्ते प्रदर्शितम्। यतो मानवस्य शरीरं देवमन्दिररूपमतोऽत्र सर्वाणि काश्यादीनि तीर्थानि राजन्ते; इन्द्रियमनःशुद्धिं संपादयन् कश्चिदपि स्वगतं ज्योतीरूपमात्मानं पश्यन् परमानन्दरूपं स्वरूपमधिगन्तुम् प्रभवतीति उपसंहृतं लेखकेन।

महाभारत-स्कन्दपुराणगतयो वाग्दोषपरक-प्रकरणयोः तुलनाप्रधानम् अध्ययनम्

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF A PASSAGE ON VĀGDOṢAS OCCURRING IN THE MAHĀBHĀRATA AND THE SKANDAPURĀṆA

RAM SHANKAR BHATTACHARYA

पुराणश्लोकपाठापेक्षया महाभारतश्लोकपाठाः प्रायेण शुद्धतरा भवन्ति—इति यद्यपि केचनातिष्ठन्ते विद्वांसस्तथापि सन्ति पौराणिकप्रकरणानि येषां पाठाः महाभारतीय-प्रकरण-पाठेभ्योऽपि समीचीनतरा इत्यत्र सोदाहरणं प्रपञ्चितं लेखकेन ।

शान्तिपर्वणि सुलभाजनकसंवादे वाक्य-बुद्धि-गुणदोषपरका इमे श्लोकाः पठिताः—

नवभिर्नवभिश्चैव दोषैर्वाग्बुद्धिदूषणैः ।
अपेतमुपपन्नार्थमष्टादशगुणान्वितम् ॥

उपेतार्थमभिन्नार्थं नापवृत्तं न चाधिकम् ।
नाश्लक्ष्णं न च सन्दिग्धं वक्ष्यामि परमं तव ॥

न गुर्वक्षरसंबद्धं पराङ्मुखमुखं न च ।
नानृतं न त्रिवर्गेण विरुद्धं नाप्यसंस्कृतम् ॥

न न्यूनं कष्टशब्दं वा व्युत्क्रमाभिहितं न च ।
न शेषं नानुकल्पेन निष्कारणमहेतुकम् ॥

कामात् क्रोधाद् भयाल्लोभाद् दैन्यादानार्यकात्तथा ।
ह्रीतोऽनुक्रोशतो मानान्न वक्ष्यामि कथंचन ॥
(३०८।३८, ८७-९०)

एषां श्लोकानां ये मुद्रिताः पाठास्ते तात्पर्यदृष्टया न समीचीनाः—इति लेखकेन विस्तरेण प्रतिपादितम् । किञ्च श्लोकेंष्वेषु ये गुणा दोषा वा उल्लिखिता स्तेषां संख्याविषयेऽपि मतद्वैधं वर्तते । शान्तिपर्वसम्पादकेनापि श्लोक-तात्पर्यविषये संशयः प्रकटीकृतः । श्लोकानां ये मुद्रिताः पाठास्तदाश्रयेण संशयानां निराकरणं दुःशकमिति प्रतिभाति ।

टीकाकृता नीलकण्ठेन श्लोकानां येऽर्थाः प्रदर्शिताः, दोषाणां गुणानां च यत् परिगणनं कृतम्, तानि न सुसंगतानि भवन्ति इति व्यक्तं प्रतिपादितं लेखकेन । वस्तुतो नीलकण्ठीयं मतं कल्पनाबहुलम्; तेन श्लोकानां समीचीनाः पाठा अपि न विज्ञाताः ।

उपर्युद्धृतानामनुरूपाः श्लोकाः स्कन्दपुराणीये कुमारिकाखण्डे दृश्यन्ते (४५।६२, ६९-७३क)। अत्र वाक्यस्य दोषाणामेव गणना न गुणानाम्; ते च दोषा अष्टादशसंख्यकाः। प्रकरणदृष्ट्या अत्रत्याः श्लोकपाठाः शुद्धाः, शान्तिपर्वस्थ-श्लोकपाठापेक्षया युक्ततराः—इति बहुभिर्युक्तिभिरुपपादितं लेखकेन।

इदमप्यत्र प्रदर्शितं यत् प्राचीने काले अष्टादशवाक्यदोषगणनापराः केचन श्लोका आसन्, ते आदौ कुमारिकाखण्डकारेण स्वग्रन्थे संगृहीताः, ततश्च शान्तिपर्वकारेण। दोषवर्णनपरा इमे श्लोकाः कालक्रमेण गुणविवरणपरा संजाताः। दोषपरका विशेषणशब्दा न-कारयोगेन (नकारानुवृत्तिबलेन वा) गुणपरका जाता इति उभयग्रन्थगतशब्दपरिदर्शनतः स्पष्टं विज्ञायते। मुद्रितशान्तिपर्वश्लोकानां कुमारिकाखण्डश्लोकानां च पाठस्य संशोधनमपि कृतं लेखकेन।

'वाक्यदोषा अष्टादश' इति मतं यद्यपि पुराणेषु कण्ठत उक्तम्, तथापि केनापि आलङ्कारिकेण मतमिदं नोररीकृतम्। किमर्थम् आलङ्कारिकैर्मतमिदं नाभ्युपगतमित्यत्र विचारितं लेखकेन।

वाक्यगताष्टादशदोषविषये काचिद् टिप्पणी पर्जिटरकृते मार्कण्डेयपुराणस्य आङ्गलभाषानुवादे दृश्यते। टिप्पणीगतं मतं भ्रान्तमिति निबन्धान्ते दर्शितम्।

भारतवर्षाद् बहिः पुराणस्य प्रभावः

PURĀṆIC INFLUENCE OUTSIDE INDIA

S. C. BANERJEE

प्राचीनतमानि पुराणानि पुराणांशविशेषा वा खीष्टीय-तृतीयशतकमारभ्य प्रचलद्रूपाणि। अर्वाचीनानां पुराणानां कालनिर्धारणं प्रायेण दुःशकमेव।

यद्यपि सर्गादयः पञ्च विषया एव पुराणप्रतिपाद्या इति कथ्यते तथापि सर्वं विज्ञातव्यं वस्तु पुराणेषु विवृतमिति दृश्यते।

धर्मविषयेऽपि पुराणस्य प्रामाण्यम् अभ्युपगम्यते। धर्मस्थानेषु (= धर्मज्ञानोपायभूतेषु) पुराणमन्यतमित्याह याज्ञवल्क्यः। चतुर्दशसु विद्यासु पुराणस्य नाम विष्णुपुराणे स्मृतम्। धर्मकृत्यसंबद्धाः सप्तशत्यादिग्रन्था अपि पुराणांशभूता एव।

भारताद् बहिः पुराणस्य प्रभावः कीदृश इत्यत्र सोदाहरणं विवृतम्—

जावादेशे यद् ब्रह्माण्डपुराणं प्रचलति तद् अस्मदीय-ब्रह्माण्डपुराणानुसारि। एतद्देशीयम् अगस्त्यपर्व-नामकं पुस्तकमपि पुराणश्लोकसदृश-वाक्यप्रचुरम्; आदिपुराणं भुवनपुराणं च अस्मदीय-पुराणोक्त-कथाबहुलम्। एषु ग्रन्थेषु भ्रष्टसंस्कृतवचांस्यपि दृश्यन्ते। एषां ग्रन्थानां मूलभूताः संस्कृतग्रन्था लुप्ताः।

प्लेटोविषयके स्वीये निबन्धे अमेरिका-निवासी एमारसन्-महोदयो भारतस्य उत्तमर्णतां स्वीकरोति, विष्णुपुराणस्य नाम च स्मरति। अमेरिकादेशीयेन ह्विटनी-नामधेयेन विदुषा पुराणमिदं प्रकाशितम्। अन्येऽपि केचन तद्देशीया विपश्चितो विष्णुपुराणस्योल्लेखं कुर्वन्ति। एते विद्वांसो हरिवंशपुराणमपि जानन्तीति विज्ञायते। स्वेडेनदेशीयः कश्चिद् विद्वान् ब्रह्मवैवर्तपुराणं लातीनभाषयानूदितवान्।

पाश्चात्त्यदेशीयैर्लेखकैः सन्दृब्धेषु कासुचिद् आख्यायिकासु नायिकावस्त्रहरणादि-विषयाणां यादृशं वर्णनमुपलभ्यते ततो विज्ञायते यदिमे लेखका भागवतपुराणवर्णित-कृष्णचरिताभिज्ञाः।

पारसीकभाषया रचितास्वाख्यायिकास्वपि वस्त्रहरणादिकथा दृश्यन्ते। इमाः कथा भारताद् अरबदेशम्, ततश्च टर्कीदेशम्, इत्येवंक्रमेण ग्रीसदेशस्य पश्चिमप्रान्तं समागताः। किं च इमाश्च कथाः भिन्नेन केनचिद् मार्गेण तिब्बतमङ्गोलियादि-स्थानानि गत्वा क्रमेण अमेरिकादेशस्योत्तरभागं प्राप्ताः। ब्रह्मदेशजापानादिदेशेष्वपि इमाः कथा रूपान्तरं प्राप्ता उपलभ्यन्ते। लाउसदेशीये कस्मिंश्चिच् शिलालेखे मत्स्यपुराणीयः श्लोकविशेष उद्धृतो दृश्यते। भागवतब्रह्मवैवर्त-विष्णु-वायु-शिवादि-पुराणानि भारत एव पारसीकभाषयानूदितानि।

पुराणस्य प्रभावो भारतबाह्येषु देशेषु कीदृश आसीदित्यस्य परिज्ञानमधुना आवश्यकमिति प्रतिभाति। एतज्ज्ञानं देशान्तरैः सह भारतस्य राजनैतिकसांस्कृतिक-संबन्धस्थापनाय साहायकं विधास्यतीति लेखान्ते उपसंहृतम्।

टूबिंगेन-पुराण-प्रकल्पः

THE TÜBINGEN PURĀṆA PROJECT

PETER SCHREINER

टूबिंगेन-विश्वविद्यालये पुराणवाङ्मयविश्लेषणाय १९८२ खीष्टाब्दतः कश्चिद् अनुसन्धानप्रकल्पः प्रवर्तते। स्वीकृतश्चायं प्रकल्पो जर्मनानुसन्धानसभया।

पुराणपाठानां पौराणिकविषयाणां च विश्लेषणं यथा सुष्ठु कर्तुं शक्यते तदर्थमुपायानामाविष्करणं प्रकल्पस्य लक्ष्यम्, यैर्न केवलं भारततत्त्वविदः, अपितु भाषाशास्त्रादिविदोऽपि लाभान्विताः स्युः। प्रकल्पसंकल्पितेन कर्मणा प्रतिपुराणविषयसूच्याः, सर्वपुराणविषयसंवादात्मिक्याः सूच्याश्च निर्माणं सुकरं भविष्यति।

प्रकल्पायोजितं कर्म गणकयन्त्र (कम्प्युटर)—बलेन संपाद्यते। ब्रह्मपुराण-विषयकं कार्यमारब्धम्। गणकयन्त्रे न केवलं पुराणप्रयुक्तानां श्लोकानां प्रत्युत पदानां पादानां न पृथक् पृथक् सज्जीकरणं भविष्यति; किंच पुराणोक्तविषयणा-माङ्ग्लभाषासंक्षेपा अपि यन्त्रव्यूढा भविष्यन्ति।

पुराणानाम्, उपपुराणानाम्, हरिवंश-रामायण-महाभारतानां पुराणादि-विषयकनिबन्धादीनां पुराणादिविषयकलेख-प्रणेतॄणां सूचीनां निर्माणमपि प्रकल्प-संकल्पितानां कार्याणामन्यतमम्।

प्रकल्पनिर्देशकेन सर्वे पुराणविदो निवेद्यन्ते यत्ते स्व-स्व-ग्रन्थ-निबन्धा-दीनाम् (यया कयाऽपि भाषया रचितानाम्) इतिहासपुराणविषयकाणां विवरणं तं प्रति प्रेषयेयुः (मूललेखे विवरणलेखनस्वरूपं प्रदर्शितम्)।

ब्रह्मपुराणोक्तानि सुभाषितानि

उपायतः समारब्धाः सर्वे सिद्ध्यन्त्युपक्रमाः ।
(४।७५)

न जातु कामः कामानामुपभोगेन शाम्यति ।
हविषा कृष्णवर्त्मेव भूय एवाभिवर्धते ॥
(१२।४०)

यच्च कामसुखं लोके यच्च दिव्यं महत् सुखम् ।
तृष्णाक्षयसुखस्यैते नार्हतः षोडशीं कलाम् ॥
(१२।४६)

मनुष्यः कुरुते यस्तु तन्न शक्यं सुरासुरैः ।
(२७।७०)

भावशुद्धिः प्रयोक्तव्या नियमाचारसंयुता ।
भावशुद्ध्या क्रियते यत् तत्सर्वं सफलं भवेत् ॥
(२९।१७)

न हि मातृसमो बन्धुर्जन्तूनामस्ति भूतले ।
(३८।३८)

उपकारिषु सर्वेषु करोत्युपकृतिं पुनः ।
अपकारिषु यः साधुः पुण्यभाक् स उदाहृतः ।
(८०।५४-५५)

सर्वं च कर्मणा बद्धं पुरुषार्थ-चतुष्टयम् ।
(८८।११)

स्वभावचपला ब्रह्मन् योषितः सकला अपि ।
(१०१।१५)

अयमेवोचितो मन्त्रो यच् छत्रूणां पराभवः ।
(१०६।१६)

द्वेष्या सर्वात्मना द्वेष्या इति नीतिविदो विदुः ।
न विश्वास्या न चाख्येया नैव मन्त्र्याश्च शत्रवः ॥
(१०६।१७)

विषं वृद्धस्य युवती वृद्धाया अमृतं युवा ।
(१०७।४७)

मृतास्त एवात्र यशो न येषाम्
अन्धास्त एव श्रुतवर्जिता ये
ये दानशीला न नपुंसकास्ते
ये धर्मशीला न त एव शोच्याः।
(११०।१५६)

विश्वासैकगृहं मित्रमपायत्रासवर्जितम्।
अर्जितं सुकृतं नानाविधं चेत् तदवाप्यते॥
(१२४।३१)

स्त्रीणां स्वभावं जानन्ति स्त्रिय एव।
(१२९।५१)

देहीति वचनद्वारा देहस्थाः पञ्च देवताः।
सद्यो निर्गत्य गच्छन्ति धीश्रीह्रीशान्तिकीर्तयः॥
(१३७।१०)

तावद् गुणा गुरुत्वं च यावन्नार्थयते परम्।
अर्थी चेत् पुरुषो जातः क्व गुणाः क्व च गौरवम्॥
(१३७।११)

तावत् सर्वोत्तमो जन्तुः तावत् सर्वगुणालयः।
नमस्यः सर्वलोकानां यावन्नार्थयते परम्॥
(१३७।१२)

स्त्रीणां विवादं ता एव स्त्रियो जानन्ति नेतरे।
(१३७।२६)

यत्रानुकूल्यं दम्पत्योस्त्रिवर्गं तत्र वर्धते।
(१३८।१३)

विद्युच्-चञ्चलचित्तानां क्व स्थैर्यं ननु योषिताम्।
(१५१।६)

तावद् धैर्यानिधि र्ज्ञानी मतिमान् विजितेन्द्रियः।
यावन्न कामिनीनेत्र-वागुराभिर्निबध्यते॥
(१५२।६-७)

अपमानं पुरस्कृत्य मानं कृत्वा च पृष्ठतः।
स्वार्थ मुद्धरते प्राज्ञः स्वार्थभ्रंशो हि मूर्खता॥
(१५२।१६)

त एव धन्या लोकेऽस्मिन् कृतपुण्यास्त एव हि।
नान्यसेवा कृता यैस्तु न येषां व्यसनागमः॥
(१५९।३)

सुखं तिष्ठन्ति गायन्ति स्वपन्ति च हसन्ति च ।
स्वदेहप्रभवो धन्या धिग्धिगन्यवशे स्थितान् ॥
(१५९।४)

मणिमन्त्रौषधीनां हि वीर्यं कोऽपि न बुध्यते ।
(१७०।६८)

यद् यद् भावयते जन्तुः कर्म कुर्वन् विचक्षणः ॥
तद् भावनानुसारेण फलनिष्पत्तिरुच्यते ।
(१७३।१४ख-१५क)

विद्यया यो यथा युक्तस्तस्य सा दैवतं महत् ।
(१८७।४६)

धर्मादर्थस्तथा कामो मोक्षश्च परिकीर्त्यते ।
(२१६।७३)

यद् यत् प्रीतिकरं पुंसां वस्तु विप्राः प्रजायते ॥
तदेव दुःखवृक्षस्य बीजत्वमुपगच्छति ।
(२३३।५२ख-५३क)

मनःप्रीतिकरः स्वर्गो नरकस्तद्विपर्ययः ।
नरकस्वर्गसंज्ञे वै पाप-पुण्ये द्विजोत्तमाः ॥
(२२।४४)

वस्त्वेकमेव दुःखाय सुखायेर्ष्योदयाय च ।
कोपाय च यतस्तस्माद् वस्तु दुःखात्मकं कुतः ॥
(२२।४५)

तदेव प्रीतये भूत्वा पुनर्दुःखाय जायते ।
तदेव कोपाय यतः प्रसादाय च जायते ॥
(२२।४६)

तस्माद् दुःखात्मकं नास्ति न च किञ्चित् सुखात्मकम् ।
मनसः परिणामोऽयं सुखदुःखादिलक्षणः ॥
(२२।४७)

न च त्रैलोक्यराज्येऽपि कैवल्ये च सुखं मनाक् ।
तदूर्ध्वमपि वा यत्तु निर्वैरत्वादवाप्यते ॥
(१०६।७)

करोति कर्म विधिवद् विना भावनया यदि ।
अन्यथा स्यात् फलं सर्वं तस्य भावानुरूपतः ॥
(१७३।१५ख-१६क)

अभिनवप्रकल्पानां विषये घोषणा

पुराणविद्याया अभिवृद्धये काशिराजन्यासेन चत्वारोऽभिनवाः प्रकल्पाः संकल्पिताः । सर्वे पुराणविदो विद्वांसः अस्मिन् कर्मणि सहयोगदानाय निवेद्यन्ते ।

(१) अस्मद्देशे क्षेत्रीयभाषानिबद्धा बहवः पुराणग्रन्था विरचिताः । एतादृशग्रन्थविवरणपराणां नवीनग्रन्थानां (Monograph) प्रकाशनं न्यासेन संकल्पितम् । एषु ग्रन्थेषु प्रकाशित-हस्तलिखित-साहित्यस्य विवरणेन सह उद्धरणज्ञापितग्रन्थानां च विवरणमपि स्यात् ।

(२) पौराणिकविषयप्रतिपादनपराणां शोधग्रन्थानाम् अप्रकाशितानाम् प्रकाशनम् ।

(३) पुराणवर्णित-मुनिचरितविवरण-पराणां ग्रन्थानां (१०० पृष्ठेभ्योऽधिकानाम्) प्रकाशनम् ।

(४) पौराणिकविषयप्रतिपादनपराणां लघुसंस्कृतग्रन्थानां संस्कृतविद्वद्विरचितानां प्राचीनानाम् अप्राचीनानां च प्रकाशनम् । पुराणपत्रिकायामपि इमे ग्रन्थाः प्रकाशनीयाः स्युः ।

काश्या संपन्ने पञ्चम-संस्कृतसम्मेलने काशिराजन्यासाध्यक्षैः काशिनरेशैरिदम् उद्घोषितं यत् तैः प्रतितृतीयवर्षं पुराणविषयकाय श्रेष्ठाय ग्रन्थाय यया कयापि भाषया विरचिताय दशसहस्रमुद्रापरिमितः पुरस्कारः प्रदास्यते ।

अस्माकं सविनयमभ्यर्थना

सर्वेषां शिक्षणसंस्थानानामधिकारिणः सविनयम् अभ्यर्थ्यन्ते यत्ते स्वस्वसंस्थानसदस्यैः शोधच्छात्रैर्वा लिखितानां लेखिष्यमाणानां वा पुराणविषयकाणां ग्रन्थानां विवरणम् अस्मत्सकाशे प्रेषयेयुः (पुराणशब्देन उपपुराणानि इतिहासश्च ग्राह्याणि) । पुराणाध्ययनगवेषणाविषये यदि तेषां केचन प्रकल्पाः स्युस्तर्हि तेषामपि संक्षिप्तं विवरणं प्रेषणीयम् । पुराणविषयकग्रन्थसूची-निर्माणाय उपर्युक्तं ग्रन्थविवरणं प्रकल्पविवरणं च अत्यन्तमावश्यकम् ।

पुराणविषयरसिका विद्वांसो निवेद्यन्ते यत्ते पुराणविषयिण्यो जिज्ञासाः प्रश्नान् वा अस्मत्सकाशे प्रेषयेयुः समाधानार्थम् । इमा जिज्ञासा प्रश्ना वा समाहिता भविष्यन्ति पुराणविशेषज्ञैः; सति संभवे जिज्ञासा-मीमांसे पुराणपत्रिकायां प्रकाशमेष्यतः ।

ग्रन्थसमीक्षार्थं प्रत्येकं ग्रन्थस्य पुराणविषयकस्य द्वे प्रती प्रेषणीये—इति विज्ञेयम् ।

सर्वभारतीय-काशिराजन्यासस्य कार्यविवरणम्

(जुलाई-दिसम्बर १९८२)

वराहपुराणसंबन्धि कार्यम्

वराहपुराणस्य पाठसमीक्षितसंस्करणस्य द्वयोर्भागयोः (IX + XCVI- + 1359 + 168 पृष्ठानि) प्रकाशनानन्तरं तथा आङ्गलभाषानुवादसंस्करणस्य (iii + 38 + 989 + 71 + 168 पृष्ठानि) प्रकाशनान्तरं हिन्दी-अनुवादसंस्करणस्य प्रकाशनं क्रियमाणं वर्तते। एतत्संस्करणं शीघ्रमेव प्रकाशितं भविष्यति। अस्मिन्नपि संस्करणे तान्येव परिशिष्टानि भविष्यन्ति यानि आङ्गलभाषानुवादसंस्करणे सन्ति।

मत्स्यपुराणसम्बन्धि कार्यम्

मत्स्यपुराणस्य हस्तलेखानां पाठसंवादलेखनकार्यं निबन्धग्रन्थगतानामुद्धरणानां च लेखनकार्यं डॉ० वे० राघवन्-महोदयस्य निर्देशने संपन्नमासीत्। संप्रति अस्य पुराणस्य संपादनकार्यं डॉ० राघवन्महोदयस्यान्तेवासिना भारतशासनस्य शिक्षाविभागे उपपरामर्शदातृपदे नियुक्तेन डॉ० स्वामिनाथन्-महाभागेन क्रियते। सर्वभारतीयकाशिराजन्यासः भारतशासनं प्रति कृतज्ञतां ज्ञापयति येन (शासनेन) अस्य संपादनार्थं स्वामिनाथन्-महोदयः लब्धाज्ञो वर्तते।

गरुडपुराणसंबन्धि कार्यम्

गरुडपुराणस्य हस्तलेखानां पाठसंवादकार्यं प्रचलति। अधुना अधोनिर्दिष्टानां हस्तलेखानां फोटोप्रतीनां, जेराक्स-प्रतीनां, माइक्रोफिल्म-प्रतीनां, मूलप्रतीनां च प्राप्तिः न्यासेन कृता।

१. हस्तलेखसंख्या १०।१७९ सरस्वतीभण्डाररामनगरदुर्गस्य (देवनागरी, पत्राणि १९५, सं० १८७८ वि० प्रतिः—संवादकार्यं संपूर्णम्)।

२. हस्तलेखसंख्या ११।१७९ सरस्वतीभण्डाररामनगरदुर्गस्य (देवनागरीलिपिः, पत्राणि ३०६, सं० १८९८ वि०—संवादकार्यं पूर्णम्)।

३. हस्तलेखसंख्या ३८२० श्रीरणवीरसंस्कृतअनुसंधानसंस्थानतः, (श्रीरघुनाथमन्दिर, जम्मू) देवनागरीलिपिः, पत्राणि ११०।

४. हस्तलेखसंख्या ३८२२ पूर्वोक्तजम्मूनगरस्थ-श्रीरणवीरसंस्कृत-अनुसंधानसंस्थानतः, देवनागरीलिपिः, पत्राणि ५९ (ब्रह्मखण्डस्य जेराक्स-प्रतिः)।

५. हस्तलेखसंख्या ३६०६ पूर्वोक्तसंस्थानतः, देवनागरीलिपिः; पत्राणि १०८ (ब्रह्मखण्डस्य जेराक्स-प्रतिः)।

६. हस्तलेखसंख्या ३६०२ पूर्वोक्त-संस्थानतः, देवनागरीलिपिः, पत्राणि ३५३ (जेराक्स प्रतिः)।

७. हस्तलेखसंख्या २-२। Vol. ८ एन ८७-काठमाण्डूस्थितस्य राष्ट्रीय अभिलेखागारस्य (National Archives), पत्राणि ३३५, देवनागरीलिपिः; संवत् १८९१।

८. हस्तलेखसंख्या १-८८० पूर्वोक्त काठमाण्डूस्थानतः, नेवारीलिपिः, पत्राणि २९४।

९. हस्तलेखसख्या ५-५३५९ पूर्वोक्त-काठमाण्डूस्थानतः, नेवारीलिपिः, पत्राणि २०३।

१०. हस्तलेखसंख्या ४-९५ पूर्वोक्त काठमाण्डूस्थानतः, नेवारीलिपिः, पत्राणि १७५।

११. हस्तलेखसंख्या ३-९११ पूर्वोक्तस्थानतः, नेवारीलिपिः, पत्राणि ३०६।

१२. हस्तलेखसंख्या एन० ए० १।२९ पश्चिमजर्मनदेशस्य टुविन्गेन विश्व-विद्यालयस्य, वङ्गलिपिः, पत्राणि १२३ (अपूर्णा) ख्रिस्टीयवर्ष १७४९ ई०।

पूनानगरस्थस्य भण्डारशोधसंस्थानस्य द्वयोः हस्तलेखयोः पाठसंवादकार्यं पूर्णम्—

संख्या १४४।१८८७-९१ नवीना संख्या २५, देवनागरीलिपिः, पत्राणि ३१७।

संख्या ११३।१८८१-८२ नवीना संख्या ४, देवनागरीलिपिः, पत्राणि ३०९।

एतदतिरिक्तानां दशानां हस्तलेखानां माइक्रोफिल्म-प्रतीनां प्राप्तये प्रार्थना कृता वर्तते। इमे हस्तलेखाः शीघ्रमेव आगमिष्यन्ति। अन्येषां हस्तलेखानां सूचनाऽपि लब्धा येषां माइक्रोफिल्मप्रतीनां जेराक्सप्रतीनां वा प्राप्तये प्रयत्नः क्रियते।

गरुडपुराणस्योत्तरखण्डस्य (यस्य प्रेतकल्पः, सारोद्धारः, धर्मखण्डं वा अभिधानं वर्तते) पाठसंवादः क्रियते। अधोनिर्दिष्टानां हस्तलेखानां फोटोप्रतयः, जेराक्सप्रतयः, माइक्रोफिल्मप्रतयः, मूलप्रतयो वा प्राप्ताः।

१. हस्तलेखसंख्या ५-५३६१ राष्ट्रीय-अभिलेखागारस्य (काठमाण्डू), देव-नागरीलिपिः, पत्राणि ७०।

२. हस्तलेखसंख्या १२।१८० सरस्वतीभण्डाररामनगरदुर्गस्य, देवनागरी-लिपिः, पत्राणि ५८।

३. हस्तलेखसंख्या ८२६।५०१० गङ्गानाथ झा केन्द्रीय संस्कृतविद्यापीठस्य, (प्रयाग) देवनागरीलिपिः, पत्राणि ५७

४. हस्तलेखसंख्या ५२४।४८६१ गङ्गानाथ झा संस्थानस्य, (प्रयाग) देवनागरीलिपिः (टीकासहितः), पत्राणि ५०

५. हस्तलेखसंख्या ५२५।४८६२ प्रयागस्थस्य गङ्गानाथ झा संस्थानस्य, मैथिलीलिपिः, पत्राणि १८

६. हस्तलेखसंख्या ३८२०, श्रीरणवीरसंस्कृतिरिसर्चसंस्थानस्य, (श्रीरघुनाथमन्दिर जम्मू), देवनागरीलिपिः, पत्राणि ११०। एतदतिरिक्तानां दशानां हस्तलेखानां प्राप्तये अपि प्रार्थना कृता। प्राप्तानां हस्तलेखानामनुसारेण इदं प्रतीयते यत् प्रत्येकं हस्तलेखेषु अध्यायसंख्या भिन्ना। सामान्यतः प्रेतखण्डे अध्यायानां संख्या पञ्चत्रिंशद्वर्तते। ये हस्तलेखा पूर्णा इति सूचितम् तेषु अन्तिमाध्यानां संख्या ११, १६, १८, २०, ३५, ३७, ४०, ४९ वा वर्तते।

गरुडपुराणस्य तृतीयखण्डः (यस्य ब्रह्मखण्डं तत्त्वरहस्यं वा नाम वर्तते) १९०६ शकवर्षे मुम्बापुर्यां वेङ्कटेश्वरमुद्रणालये मुद्रितः। अस्मिन् संस्करणे गरुडपुराणस्य त्रयाणां खण्डानाम् अंशानां वा निर्देशो लभ्यते—

१. प्रथमांश आचारकाण्डं वा-२४० अध्यायात्मकम्

२. द्वितीयांशो धर्मकाण्डम् प्रेतकल्पः, उत्तरखण्डं वा, ४९ अध्यायात्मकम्

३. तृतीयांशो ब्रह्मकाण्डम् उत्तरखण्डं २९ अध्यायात्मकम्।

सम्प्रति विविधलिपिलिखितानां विभिन्नहस्तलेखानां पाठसंवादकार्ये प्रतिलिपि-कार्ये वा अष्टौ पण्डिताः संलग्ना वर्तन्ते। इदानीं वङ्ग-नेवारी-मैथिली-देवनागरीलिपिषु लिखितानाम् उत्तरदेशीयहस्तलेखानामेव संवादकार्यं प्रचलति।

विष्णुसहस्रनामसंबन्धि कार्यम्

एषु मासेषु विष्णुसहस्रनाम्नः नवानां हस्तलेखानां माइक्रोफिल्मप्रतयः फोटोप्रतयो वा न्यासेन क्रीताः, येषु महाभारतीयसहस्रनाम्नः पञ्च प्रतयः ब्रिटिश-म्युजियम (लाइब्रेरी) लण्डन, ह्वारवर्ड विश्वविद्यालय (अमेरिका) इत्यतश्च आगताः। पद्मपुराणान्तर्गतोत्तरखण्डस्य सहस्रनाम्नः चत्वारो हस्तलेखाः नेपालदेशीय-राष्ट्रीय-अभिलेखागार (नेशनल आर्काइवज्) इति स्थानात्, हारवर्ड विश्वविद्यालयतश्च आगताः। महाभारतीयसहस्रनामहस्तलेखेषु हस्तलेखसंख्या १३४९४ (ख्रिष्टीयवर्ष १६२६ ई०) वर्तते यः उत्कललिप्या सूक्ष्माक्षरैः लिखितः। अन्यः चित्रान्वितो सं १८६९ विक्रमाब्दे लिखितो हस्तलेखः काश्मीरीनागरीलिप्या लिखितो वर्तते। पद्मपुराणीयसहस्रनाम्नः चतुर्ष्वपि हस्तलेखेषु एको नेवारीलिप्यां

त्रयश्च देवनागरीलिप्यां वर्तन्ते। अद्यावधि स्कन्दपुराणीय-सहस्रनाम्नः गरुडपुराणीयसहस्रनाम्नश्च कोऽपि हस्तलेखो न प्राप्तः पृथग्रूपेण। अनयोः पुराणयोः सहस्रनाम्नो हस्तलेखा वर्तन्ते न वा—इति ज्ञानाय न्यासेन विभिन्नसहस्रनामस्तोत्राणाम् आद्यन्तश्लोकानां सूचीर्निर्माय 'साइक्लोस्टाऐल्ड'-प्रतयः प्रस्तुताः, या हस्तलेखानां प्रधानपुस्तकालयेभ्यः प्रेषिता भविष्यन्ति।

शिवधर्मोत्तरपुराणसंबन्धि कार्यम्

हस्तलेखेषु उपलब्धस्य शिवधर्मोत्तरपुराणस्य पाठ-समीक्षितसंस्करणस्य योजना न्यासेन इटलीदेशस्य इसमेयोसंस्थानस्य सहयोगेन प्रस्तुता। समीचीनम् इदं यत् अस्य संपादनं शिवधर्मपुराणेन सह क्रियते। शिवधर्मपुराणमपि अप्रकाशितं वर्तते। हस्तलेखेषु उभे अपि साकमेव प्राप्येते।

संप्रति न्यासेन अनयोः पुराणयोः सप्त फोटो-प्रतयः माइक्रोफिल्मप्रतयो वा एको मूलहस्तलेखश्च प्राप्ताः। चतुस्त्रिंशति ज्ञातेषु हस्तलेखेषु द्वावेव हस्तलेखौ देवनगरीलिप्यां लिखितौ स्तः—एकः शिवधर्मपुराणस्य रामनगरस्थे सरस्वतीभण्डार पुस्तकालये, अपरः शिवधर्मोत्तरस्य नेपालीय-काठमाण्डूनगरस्थे राष्ट्रीये अभिलेखागारसंस्थाने। उभयोः हस्तलेखयोः उपयोग आधारपाठत्वेन भविष्यति। संप्रति शिवधर्मपुराणस्य पाठसंवादकार्यं प्रारब्धं वर्तते।

पुराणगोष्ठी

५ जुलाई १९८२ दिनाङ्के न्यासाध्यक्षाणां तत्रभवतां काशिनरेशमहाराजानाम् डॉ० विभूतिनारायणसिंहमहोदयानाम् अध्यक्षतायां व्यासोत्सवः संपन्नः। उपस्थितेषु विद्वत्सु पण्डित बलदेवउपाध्यायः, डॉ० रघुनाथसिंहः, डॉ० वागीशशास्त्री, डॉ० रेवाप्रसादद्विवेदी, डॉ० विश्वनाथभट्टाचार्यः, पण्डित शिवनन्दनलालदरः, श्री अहिभूषणभट्टचार्यः, श्री विश्वनाथशास्त्री दातारः, श्री वैकुण्ठनाथ उपाध्यायः, अन्ये च आसन्। प्रारम्भे तत्रभवतां महाराजानां नेतृत्वे विद्वांसः प्रभुनारायणेश्वरमन्दिरे शुक्लयजुर्वेदीय-माध्यन्दिनशाखायाः परायणं श्रुतवन्तस्तदनन्तरं षोडशभि वैदिक-ब्राह्मणै वसन्तपूजा संपादिता। वसन्तपूजा-समाप्तौ महाराजकुमारेण चिरंजीविना अनन्तनारायणसिंहेन वैदिकब्राह्मणेभ्यो दक्षिणाः प्रदत्ताः। वैदिकवसन्तपूजानन्तरं पुराणगोष्ठी प्रारब्धा। मङ्गलाचरणानन्तरं व्यासवन्दनानन्तरं च संपादकेन 'पुराण'-पत्रिकायाः व्यासाङ्कः अध्यक्षेभ्यः काशिनरेशेभ्यः समर्पितः। न्यासस्य पुराण-विभागस्य च विगतवर्षस्य कार्यविवरणं डॉ० गङ्गासागररायमहोदयेन विदुषां समक्षं प्रस्तुतम्। तदन्तरं डॉ० रामशङ्कर भट्टाचार्य-महोदयेन पौराणिकाध्ययनस्य महत्त्वं प्रदर्श्य 'पुराण' - पत्रिकाया निबन्धलेखनार्थं विदुषामह्वानं कृतम्। पण्डित बलदेव उपाध्यायः, पण्डित विश्वनाथ शास्त्रीदातारः, डॉ० विश्वनाथ भट्टाचार्यः, अन्ये च विद्वांसः

स्वस्वमतानि प्रकाशितवन्तः। अन्ते काशिनरेशाः डॉ० विभूतिनारायणसिंहमहोदया आगतविद्वद्भ्यो धन्यवादं ज्ञापितवन्तः। अल्पाहारानन्तरं प्रसादवितरणानन्तरं च गोष्ठी विसर्जिता।

धार्मिकाणि कार्याणि

न्यासः पुराणसम्बन्धिकार्यातिरिक्तानि अधोनिर्दिष्टानि कार्याणि अपि यथापूर्वं संपादितवान्—

१. **पुराणपाठः**–रामनगरस्थे बालात्रिपुरसुन्दरीमन्दिरे आषाढ़शुक्लप्रतिपत्तिथिमारभ्य नवमीं तिथिं यावत् (१९८२ वर्षस्य जून मासस्य २२-२९ दिनाङ्केषु) त्रिपुरारहस्यस्य पारायणं श्री रामजीमिश्रेण कृतम्।

२. **वेदपारायणम्**–शुक्लयजुर्वेदीयमाध्यन्दिनशाखायाः संहितायाः पदक्रमसहितं संपूर्णपारायणं अषाढ़शुक्लप्रतिपत्तिथिमारभ्य पूर्णिमां यावत् (१९८२ वर्षस्य २२ जून–६ जुलाई दिनाङ्केषु) वाराणस्यां शिवालाप्रासादस्थिते प्रभुनारायणेश्वरमन्दिरे पण्डितराजारामनिर्मले शास्त्रिणा कृतम्। पण्डित बदरीनाथगाडोरकरमहोदयः श्रोता आसीत्।

३. **रासलीला**–रामनगरस्थे प्रसिद्धोद्याने मथुरानगरीयैः रासलीलाप्रदर्शकैः श्रावणशुक्लतृतीयतिथिमारभ्य पूर्णिमां यावत् रासलीलायाः प्रदर्शनं कृतम्।

४. **रामलीला**–मासपर्यन्तव्यापिनी विश्वविश्रुता रामलीला अस्मिन् १९८२ वर्षे २७ अक्टूबर दिनाङ्कमारभ्य २६ नवम्बर दिनाङ्कं यावत् संपन्ना। अत्रत्यां रामलीलां द्रष्टुमागतेभ्यः ७०० साधुभ्यः प्रतिदिनं भोजनं प्रदत्तम्। अस्मिन् वर्षे परिधानार्थं मूर्तिनिर्माणार्थं च 'सङ्गीतनाटक-अकादमी' इति संस्थया दशसहस्ररूप्यकाणामनुदानं सर्वभारतीयकाशिराजन्यासाय प्रदत्तम्। एतदर्थं न्यासः अस्यै संस्थायै धन्यवादं ज्ञापयति। विश्रुतायाः लीलाया परम्परागतस्वरूप-संरक्षणार्थं एतादृशं साहाय्यं सहायकं भविष्यति। अमेरिकादेशस्थ वाशिंगटन-स्थानस्य 'स्मिथसोनियन' संस्थानतः प्रकाशिते 'सेलेब्रेशन्स'-नामके पुस्तके न्यूयार्कविश्वविद्यालयस्य डॉ० सेचनरमहोदयेन कस्मिंश्चिद् अध्याये रामलीलायाः तुलना अमेरिकादेशस्य कस्मिंश्चिद् उपनगरे प्रदर्शितेन 'ओबेरामर्गो' नाटकेन सह कृता। एतेन ज्ञायते यद् रामनगरीयाया रामलीलाया महत्त्वं विदेशेष्वपि वर्धते।

अमेरिकादेशस्य शोधछात्रः फिलिप लुटजेण्डोर्फ महोदयः 'प्रवचन'–विषये अध्ययनं करोति। स त्रिंशति दिवसेषु रामलीलाया विषयानुकूलाध्ययनार्थं मवलोकनं कृतवान्। अस्मिन् वर्षे विजयदशमीदिने वर्दवान्-राज्यस्य महाराजकुमारो विशिष्टः दर्शकः तत्रभवतां महाराजकाशिराजानामतिथिश्चासन्।

८. पुराणविभागे आगता विशिष्टा विद्वांसः

१ भारतशासनेन नियुक्ता निरीक्षणसमितेः अधोनिर्दिष्टाः सदस्याः २३ अगस्त १९८२ दिनाङ्के प्रातः ९ वादनकाले पुराणविभागे आगताः, अत्रत्यकार्यजातस्य समीक्षणं च कृतवन्तः—

१. डा० विद्यानिवास मिश्रः—आगरास्थितस्य डा० क० मा० मुन्शी-हिन्दीभाषाशोधसंस्थानस्य निदेशकः (अध्यक्षः)

२. पद्मभूषण पं० पट्टाभिरामशास्त्री, (सदस्यः)

३. डा० के० वी० शर्मा, होशियारपुरनगरस्थः (सदस्यः)

४. डा० सी० आर० स्वामिनाथन्—केन्द्रीयशिक्षामन्त्रालयस्य उपशिक्षा-परामर्शदाता (सदस्यः)

शिक्षामन्त्रालयस्य मुख्यवित्तनियन्त्रकः श्री वी० एन० कैलाशमहोदयः (समित्या संयोजितः)।

समित्या निरीक्षणान्तरं लिखितम्—

समितिः पर्यालोचनकालावधौ प्रकाशितग्रन्था विशिष्टगुणेन संतुष्टाऽस्ति।

२. डा० सुभद्र झा—भूतपूर्वसम्पूर्णानन्दसंस्कृतविश्वविद्यालयीयपुस्तका-लयाध्यक्षः—२४.८.८२ दिनाङ्के 'पुराण' पत्रिकाया नूतनोऽङ्कस्तस्मै उपहारी-कृतः।

३. उत्तरप्रदेशस्य राज्यपालः महामहिम-श्रीचन्द्रशेखप्रसादनारायणसिंह-महोदयः २४।८।८२ दिनाङ्के दुर्गस्य संग्रहालस्य निरोक्षणं कृतवान्। तस्मै न्यासा-ध्यक्षैस्तत्रभवद्भिः महाराजैः काशिनरेशैः न्यासस्य प्रकाशनानि उपहारीकृतानि। राज्यपालमहोदयाय पाठसंवादलेखनपद्धतिः, प्राचीना दुर्लभहस्तलेखाः, तुलसी-दासस्य 'पञ्चनामा', स्वर्णाक्षरैश्चित्रैश्च लिखिता रामचरितमानस्य प्रतिः प्रद-र्शिताः। राज्यपालमहोदयः पुराणकार्ये स्वानुरागं प्रदर्शितवान्।

९. न्यासस्य प्रकाशनानि लण्डननगरे प्रदर्शितानि

भारतशासनेन स्थापितः 'नेशनल बुक ट्रस्ट' संस्था लण्डननगरे भारतीय-पुस्तकानां प्रदर्शनस्यायोजनं कृतवती। अत्र षोडशशताब्दीत आरभ्य अद्यतनकालं यावद् भारतीयग्रन्थानां समग्ररूपेण प्रदर्शनमासीत्। किन्तु बहुशतवर्षप्रकाशितेषु पुस्तकेष्वपि पञ्चदशशतपुस्तकानामेव चयनं जातं प्रदर्शनार्थम्, यद्यपि प्रति-वर्षम् अनेकसहस्राणां पुस्तकानां प्रकाशनं भवति। इदं चयनं पुस्तकानामाकृत्या गुणेन च कृतम्। एतत्कालप्रकाशितेषु पञ्चशतोत्तर-सहस्र-विशिष्टपुस्तकेषु न्यासस्य षण्णां पुस्तकानां चयनं जातम्। प्रदर्शितग्रन्थेषु न्यासस्य इमे ग्रन्था आसन्—

१. वामनपुराणम् (आङ्गलभाषानुवादसंस्करणम्)
२. वराहपुराणम् (भागद्वयात्मकं) (पाठसमीक्षितसंस्करणम्)
३. मत्स्यपुराण—ए स्टडी
४. नारदपुराण—ए स्टडी
५. रामचरितमानस
६. पुराणम् (पत्रिका)

पुराणविषयक-गोष्ठ्या आयोजनम्

अमेरिकादेशस्य विशकान्सिन-विश्वविद्यालयस्य दक्षिणएशिया-अध्ययन-विभागस्य दशमे वार्षिके अधिवेशने द्वे सत्रे पुराण विषये आयोजिते आस्ताम्। सत्रानन्तरं निर्णीतं यत् दिसम्बर १९८३ समये मेडिसन-विसकान्सिन नगरे चतुर्दिवसात्मकम् आयोजनं पुराणविषये भवेत्, यस्मिन् पुराणानां स्वरूपादिविषये विमर्शो भवेत्। इदमपि प्रस्तावितं यत् एकं पुस्तकं प्रकाशितं स्याद् यस्मिन् वक्तॄणां निबन्धाः प्रश्नोत्तराणि च समाविष्टानि भवेयुः।

प्रकीर्णाः सूचनाः

भारतशासनेन पुनरपि न्यासाध्यक्षास्तत्रभवन्तः काशिनरेशा डा० विभूति नारायणसिंहमहोदया राष्ट्रीयसंस्कृतसंस्थानस्य सम्मानिताः सदस्या नियुक्ताः। न्यासाध्यक्षैः पुराणविभागस्य डा० गङ्गासागररायः प्रतिनिधिरूपेण संस्थान-सदस्यस्थाने नियोजितः।

पुराणपत्रिकायाः २४।१ अङ्के यस्य पुराणविषयकग्रन्थपुरस्कारस्य उद्घोषणा कृता, तदर्थं शिवपुराणविषयकः कश्चिद् ग्रन्थः डा० वीणापाणिपटनीमहोदयया प्रेषितः। अन्येऽपि विद्वांसः पुराणविषयकान् स्वग्रन्थान् एतत्-पुरस्कारार्थं प्रेषयेयुरिति अभ्यर्थ्यते। 'पुराणग्रन्थपुरस्काराय ग्रन्थोऽयं प्रेषितः' इति ग्रन्थेऽवश्यं लेखनीयम्।

पुराणोक्त-मुनिचरितग्रन्थप्रणयनविषये या घोषणा पुराणपत्रिकायां (२४।२) प्रकाशिता तां विज्ञाय केचन विद्वांसो ग्रन्थलेखनाय स्वप्रवृत्तिं विज्ञापयामासुः। डा० वीणापाणिपटनीमहोदया व्यासचरितमधिकृत्य, डा० रामशंकर-भट्टाचार्यो याज्ञवल्क्यचरितम् नरनारायणचरितं चाधिकृत्य ग्रन्थान् प्रणयतः।

महाराज-बनारस-विद्यामन्दिर-न्यासः

वैदिकबालकवसन्तपूजा—चिरंजीविनो महाराजकुमारस्य वर्धापनावसरे १२-१२-८२ दिनाङ्के ऊनषोडशवर्षीयैर्वैदिकबालकैः वसन्तपूजा संपादिता। अस्मिन् अवसरे रामनगरीय-बालकानां चित्रकला-प्रतियोगितायाः अपि आयोजनमासीत्। विजेतृभ्यः पुरस्कारवितरणं जातम्। दुर्गस्य समीपस्थे प्राङ्गणे क्रीड़ाप्रतियोगितायाः अपि अयोजनमासीत्। प्रतियोगितायाः विजेतृप्रतियोगिभ्यः पुरस्कारवितरणं कृतम्। अस्मिन् वर्षे जिलापरिषदः शासकीय-विद्यालयाः प्रतियोगितायां सम्मिलिता न बभूवुः।

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व्यासप्रशस्तिः

(१)

नमो व्यासाय गुरवे वेदज्ञाय महर्षये ।
पाराशर्याय शान्ताय नमो नारायणाय ते ॥[1]

(२)

विद्यावन्तं विपुलमतिदं वेदवेदाङ्गवेद्यं
श्रेष्ठं शान्तं शमितविषयं शुद्धतेजोविशालम् ।
वेदव्यासं सततविनतं विश्ववेद्यैकयोनिं
पाराशर्यं परमपुरुषं सर्वदाहं नमामि ॥[2]

(३)

अमृतपरमपूर्वं भारतीकामधेनुं
श्रुतिगणकृतवत्सो व्यासदेवो दुदोह ।
अतिरुचिरपुराणं ब्रह्मवैवर्तमेतत्
पिबत पिबत मुग्धा दुग्धमक्षय्यमिष्टम् ॥[3]

(४)

नमः शिवाय शान्ताय व्यासाय मुनये नमः ॥[4]

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1. Second introductory stanza in the Viṣṇudharma-upapurāṇa, an unpublished work ; *vide* 'Studies in the Upapurāṇas' (by Dr. R. C. Hazra) vol. I p. 119.
2. Skanda-p. Vaiṣṇava-khaṇḍa, Ayodhyā-māhātmya 1.24 (Vang. ed.). The verse is found with slight variations in several Purāṇas (*vide* श्रीव्यासप्रशस्तयः, p. 9).
3. One of the Introductory verses in the Brahma-khaṇḍa of the Brahmavaivarta-p. In the Auśanasa-upapurāṇa there is a similar verse having the third line as सुरुचिरमहिमानं विन्ध्यदेशस्य सर्वे which is in accordance with the character of this Upapurāṇa(This Upapurāṇa chiefly deals with the glorification of the Vindhya hill). In the fourth foot it reads पिबत परिविमुग्धाः which in sense is identical with the words in the Brahmavaivarta-p.

   For the verse of the Upapurāṇa see Gurupada Haldar: Vaidyaka-vṛttānta (in Bengali), p. 296.
4. Liṅga-purāṇa II. 55.35.

(५)

नमस्तस्मै मुनीशाय तपोनिष्ठाय धीमते ।
वीतरागाय कवये व्यासायामिततेजसे ।।
तं नमामि महेशानं मुनिं धर्मविदां वरम् ।
श्यामं जटाकलापेन शोभमानं शुभाननम् ।।
मुनीन् सूर्यप्रभान् धर्मान् पाठयन्तं सुवर्चसम् ।
नानापुराणकर्तारं वेदव्यासं महाप्रभम् ।।[5]

(६)

सुखासीनं महाव्यासं गङ्गाकूले द्विजोत्तम ।
तं दृष्ट्वा सुमहातेजा ज्वलन्तमिव पावकम् ।।
साक्षान्नारायणं देवं तेजसादित्यसन्निभम् ।
प्रणम्य शिरसा वीर सर्वशास्त्रालयं परम् ।।
महाभारतकर्तारं वेदार्थनिकषं परम् ।
आचार्यं परमर्षीणां राजर्षीणां च भारत ।।
कर्तारं कुरुवंशस्य दैवतं परमं मम ।
पप्रच्छ कुरुशार्दूलो द्विज भक्त्या समन्वितः ।।[6]

(७)

एवं ब्रुवन्तमनघं व्यासं सत्यवतीसुतम् ।। ४७ ।।
साधु साध्विति संकीर्त्य प्रत्यूचुर्निगमा वचः ।

वेदा ऊचुः

साधु साधु महाप्राज्ञ विष्णुरात्मा शरीरिणाम् ।
अजोऽपि जन्म संपद्य लोकानुग्रहमीहसे ।। ४८ ।।
अन्यथा ते न घटते संसारः कर्मबन्धनः ।
अस्पृष्टो मायया देव्या कदाचिज्ज्ञानगूहया ।। ४९ ।।
बिभर्षि स्वेच्छया रूपं स्वेच्छयैव निगूहसे ।
अस्मत्संमत एवार्थो भवता संप्रदर्शितः ।। ५० ।।
पुराणेष्वितिहासेषु सूत्रेष्वपि च नैकधा ।
अक्षरं ब्रह्म परमं सर्वकारणकारणम् ।। ५१ ।।
तस्यात्मनोऽप्यात्मभावतया पुष्पस्य गन्धवत् ।
रसवद्वा स्थितं रूपमवेहि परमं हि तत् ।। ५२ ।।[7]

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5. Bṛhad-dharma-purāṇa. I. 1.23-25.
6. Bhaviṣya, Brāhma 198.4-7.
7. Purāṇa-saṁhitā 2.47b-52.

NOTES ON THE VYĀSA-PRAŚASTI

In the Itihāsa-Purāṇa works and in the commentaries thereon we often find verses that glorify the sage Kṛṣṇa-dvaipāyana (usually called Vedavyāsa or Vyāsa) in various ways. A commendable collection of such verses is to be found in the booklet श्रीव्यासप्रशस्तयः (published by the A.-I. Kashiraj Trust). A few Purāṇic verses, not included in the booklet, are given here.

As almost all the verses are easy to understand, only a few important words in these verses are explained here.

(No. 1) Since Vyāsa was the son of Parāśara, he was called Pārāśarya. The word however presents a grammatical difficulty, for the word Pārāśarya means the *gotra-apatya* (grandson and his descendents) of Parāśara; *vide* the Pāṇinian sūtra गर्गादिभ्यो यञ् (4.1.105). Commentators are constrained to say that in the name Pārāśarya and in similar other names like Jāmadagnya (Paraśurāma) the suffix यञ् enjoined by the sūtra 4.1.105 is to be taken in the sense of a son (*apatya*) and not in the sense of *gotra-apatya*).[1]

(No. 2) शमितविषय (adjective to Pārāśarya (Vyāsa) means विषयाः शमिताः शान्ता यस्मिन्—one in whom objects (i. e., the attachment to the objects) have ceased, one whose passions are quieted—a man of perfectly tranquil mind. सततविनत (always modest or humble) is not a happy reading; सततयशसं, the reading of the other Purāṇas, seems to be more appropriate.

विश्ववेद्यैकयोनि—One who is the only source (*yoni*) of all knowable objects. Cp. the Ved. Sū. योनिश्च हि गीयते (1.4.27). It is used here taking Vyāsa as identical with the supreme deity.

(No. 3) Here Vyāsa is compared to a milkman, the Vedas to the calves, and the goddess of speech to the cow which satisfies all

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1. कथमनन्तरो रामो जामदग्न्यः, व्यासः पाराशर्य इति । गोत्ररूपाध्याहारेण भविष्यति । अनन्तरापत्यविवक्षायां तु ऋष्यणैव भवितव्यम्—जामदग्न्यः पराशरः(Kāśikā 4.1.105).

desires. The milk is said to be inexhaustible and extremely desired.

The printed reading of the verse in the Auśanasa-upapurāṇa seems to be corrupt in one or two places. As the first two feet of this verse are common to two Purāṇic works, it follows that one of these two Purāṇic works is the borrower.

(No. 5) Vyāsa is described as having dark (*śyāma*) complexion. It is well known that on account of his complexion Vyāsa was sometimes called Kṛṣṇa and Śuka, his son, Kārṣṇi.[2]

(No. 6) Here Vyāsa is said to be वेदार्थनिकष, *nikaṣa* meaning *nikaṣa iva*—like a touch stone. As by means of the touch stone the purity of gold can be tested (Cp. निकषे हेमरेखेव, Raghuvaṁśa 17.46), so the verity of the Vedic views are shown by Vyāsa through his various activities.

Vyāsa is said to be the teacher of *paramarṣis* and *rājarṣis*. The word *paramarṣi* is usually used in the sense of 'a great sage'. A technical sense of this word is found in the Purāṇas.[3]

Rājarṣi means 'a king who has adopted the life of a sage'. For the characteristics of *rājarṣis* (along with *brahmarṣis* and *devarṣis*), see Brahmāṇḍa-p. 1.35.100-102. The category of *rājarṣi* along with the categories of *brahmarṣi* and *devarṣi* is mentioned in Viṣṇu-p. 3.6.30, Vāyu-p. 61.80 and Brahmāṇḍa-p. 1.35.89-90.

Since Dhṛtarāṣṭra and Pāṇḍu were the sons of Kṛṣṇadvaipāyana from Ambikā and Ambālikā respectively through the process of *niyoga*, he is said to be the *kartṛ* of the Kuru dynasty. (Kuru being the ancestor of Dhṛtarāṣṭra and Pāṇḍu).

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2. For the reasons for the various names of Vyāsa see the Skanda-p. : द्वैपायनो द्वीपजन्मा पाराशर्यः पराशरात्। कृष्णांशात् कृष्णनामायं व्यासो वेदान् व्यसिष्यति (Revākhaṇḍa 97.74b-75a). The reason (i. e. being born of a portion of Kṛṣṇa) given here for the name Kṛṣṇa is different, which seems to be a later idea.

3. निवृत्तिसमकालं तु बुद्ध्याव्यक्तमृषिः स्वयम्। परं हि ऋषते यस्मात् परमर्षिस्ततः स्मृतः ॥ (Vāyu-p. 59.8). Brahmāṇḍa-p. 1.32.86 and Matsya-p. 145.82 read the verse with variations.

(No. 7) Vyāsa, being doubtful about the real significance of the teachings of the Vedas, worshipped the Vedas, and they appeared before him in human form. Vyāsa asked them whether there was an entity which was higher than the one, *kūtaṣṭha* (changelessly permanent) principle (i. e. the absolute brahman). Hearing the question, the Vedas praised Vyāsa by uttering the verses as given here (48-50b).

Vyāsa is described here as an incarnation of the birthless Viṣṇu, who appeared to guide people into the right path (*lokānugraha*; cp. the word *lokasaṁgraha* in Gītā 3.20,25). Viṣṇu's act of assum ing a human form does not become a cause of bondage as it is due to His free will. Viṣṇu, being not influenced by Māyā, can create various forms and can withdraw them through his will only (48-50a).

The Vedas stated that the import of the Vedic words had been shown in the Purāṇas, Itihāsas and the sūtras (i. e. the Brahmasūtra and similar other treatises) (50b-51a).

In verses 51b-52 it is propounded that the entity, whose essential characteristic is *rasa*, is higher than brahman[4]. The view of the Vaiṣnava philosophy is expressly stated here.

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4. For the Purāṇic exposition of the view that the nature of the ultimate reality is *rasa*, the following remarks of the great Śākta teacher Bhāskara are note-worthy : "रसं ह्येवायं लब्ध्वाऽऽनन्दी भवतीति श्रुतेः। एतस्य विस्तरः पाद्मे पुष्कर-खण्डे चरमभागे षड्भिरध्यायैः द्रष्टव्यः" (Comm. on Lalitāsahasra nāma, p. 66); ब्रह्माण्डेऽपि 'रस एव परं ब्रह्म रस एव परा गतिः। रसो हि कान्तिदः पुंसां रसो रेत इति स्मृतः॥ रसो वै रससंलब्ध्या ह्यानन्दी भगवत्यपि। वेदप्रामाण्यसंसिद्ध्या रसः प्राणतया स्थितः। को ह्येवान्याच् च कः प्राण्याद् इत्यपि श्रुतिभाषितः। प्राणात्मको रसः प्रोक्तः प्राणदः कुम्भसंभव' इति (Comm. on Lalitāsahasranāma, p. 162). The Vedic passages referred to are : रसो वै सः। रसं ह्येवायं लब्ध्वा आनन्दी भवति। को ह्येवान्यात् कः प्राण्याद् यदेष आकाश आनन्दो न स्यात् (Tai.-up.-2.7.1).

विष्णुस्तोत्रम्

[पुराणोक्ता वक्तृनिरपेक्षा दीर्घच्छन्दोरचिता मङ्गलाचरणरूपा विष्णुपरकाः श्लोकाः]

(१)

यस्मात् सर्वमिदं प्रपञ्चरचितं माया जगज्जायते
यस्मिंस्तिष्ठति याति चास्तसमये कल्पानुकल्पे पुनः ।
यं ध्यात्वा मुनयः प्रपञ्चरहितं विन्दन्ति मोक्षं ध्रुवं
तं वन्दे पुरुषोत्तमाख्यममलं नित्यं विभुं निश्चलम् ॥[1]

(२)

यं ध्यायन्ति बुधाः समाधिसमये शुद्धं वियत्सन्निभं
नित्यानन्दमयं प्रसन्नममलं सर्वेश्वरं निर्गुणम् ।
व्यक्ताव्यक्तपरं प्रपञ्चरहितं ध्यानैकगम्यं विभुं
तं संसारविनाशहेतुमजरं वन्दे हरिं मुक्तिदम् ॥[2]

(३)

ओं भूर्भुवःस्वरिति तत् सवितुर्वरेण्यं
भर्गो निसर्गविमलं परमस्य विष्णोः ।
देवस्य धीमहि धियोऽधिगतं वयं यो
यत्नान्न ईहितमतींस्तु प्रचोदयादोम् ॥[3]

(४)

यद् योगिभिर्भवभयार्तिविनाशयोग्य
मासाद्यवन्दितमतीव विविक्तचित्तैः ।
तद् वः पुनातु हरिपादसरोजयुग्म-
माविर्भवत्-क्रमविलङ्घितभूर्भुवःस्वः ॥[4]

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1. Brahma-p. 1.1
2. Brahma-p. 1.2
3. Bṛhaddharma-p. I. 1.1
4. Mārkaṇḍeya-p.; it is numbered separately and is read before the verse नारायणं नमस्कृत्य; In the Kālikā-p. it is the first verse (ed. by Viśvanārāyaṇa Śāstrin); in the Vang. ed. it seems to be the first verse, though the verse नारायणं नमस्कृत्य is given before it independently.

(५)

पायात् स वः सकलकल्मषभेददक्षः
क्षीरोदकुक्षिफणिभोगनिविष्टमूर्तिः ।
श्वासावधूतकणिकोत्कलिकाकरालः
सिन्धुः प्रनृत्यमिव यस्य करोति सङ्गात् ॥[5]

(६)

अजरमजमनन्तं ज्ञानरूपं महान्तं
शिवममलमनादिं भूतदेहादिहीनम् ।
सकलकरणहीनं सर्वभूतस्थितं तं
हरिममलममायं सर्वगं वन्द एकम् ॥[6]

(७)

सेन्द्रा देवगणा मुनीश्वरजना लोकाः सपालाः सदा
यं सर्वार्थसुसिद्धये प्रतिदिनं भक्त्या भजन्त्युत्तमाः ।
तं विघ्नेशमनन्तमच्युतमजं सर्वज्ञसर्वाश्रयं
वन्दे वैदिकतान्त्रिकादिविविधैः शास्त्रैः पुरो वन्दितम् ॥[7]

(८)

ध्यायन्ते ध्याननिष्ठाः सुरनरमनवो योगिनो योगरूढाः
सन्तः स्वप्नेऽपि सन्तं कति कति जनिभिर्यं न पश्यन्ति तप्त्वा ।
ध्याये स्वेच्छामयं तं त्रिगुणपरमहो निर्विकारं निरीहं
भक्तध्यानैकहेतोर्निरुपमरुचिरश्यामरूपं दधानम् ॥[8]

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5. Read in the Mārkaṇḍepa-p. just after the preceding verse; in the Kālikā-p. the verse read after the preceding verse (in the same metre) is different and shows the glorification of avidyā or māyā.

6. Garuḍa-p. 1.1.1.

7. Kalki-p. 1.1.1; it is followed by the verse नारायणं नमस्कृत्य........

8. One of the introductory verses read independently in the Brahma-khaṇḍa, ch. 1 of the Brahmavaivarta-p.; the verse नारायणं नमस्कृत्य........ is read after it.

NOTES ON THE VIṢṆU-STOTRA

The Purāṇas and the Upapurāṇas contain a few verses (in long metres) of the nature of *maṅgalācaraṇa*, describing the glory of deities like Viṣṇu, Śiva, Sūrya, Devī, Gaṇeśa and the like.

These verses are read at the beginning of the Purāṇic works and they have no connection with particular speakers. Some of these verses are read even before the verse नारायणं नमस्कृत्य........, and in some editions these verses are not even numbered or they are numbered separately. All these tend to show that (i) these verses are the independent compositions of those *Vyāsas*[1] who were highly learned and that (ii) they were placed at the beginning of the Purāṇas with a view to rendering the *maṅgalācaraṇa* verses highly effective to the audience. Here some of these verses on the glorification of Viṣṇu are given with notes.

(No. 1) Puruṣottama i. e. Viṣṇu is extolled in this verse. It is propounded here that (i) the three stages of the world, namely origination, subsistence and dissolution are caused by Him and that (ii) the sages attain emancipation as a result of meditating on Him, the eternal, all-pervasive and changeless being.

मायाजगत् is to be taken in the sense of मायामयं जगत्--the illusory world.

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1. Here 'Vyāsa' means a purāṇa-vācaka, the person whose duty was to recite the Purāṇas (traditionally handed down to him)with popular expositions. Some of these Vyāsas were the composers of the Purāṇas (or the parts of the Purāṇas) also. Following verses depict a purāṇa-vācaka Vyāsa vividly : विस्पष्टमद्भुतं शान्तं स्पष्टाक्षरपदं तथा । कलस्वरसमायुक्तं रसभावसमन्वितम् ॥ बुध्यमानः सदा ह्यर्थं ग्रन्थार्थं कृत्स्नशो नृप । ब्राह्मणादिषु सर्वेषु ग्रन्थार्थं चार्पयेन् नृप ॥ य एवं वाचयेद् विद्वान् स विप्रो व्यास उच्यते ।(quoted in the Rādhāmohinī comm. on the Tattva-andarbha, p. 19); see also Padma-p. 4. 100. 42 (पुराणजीवी पूजार्हः स्वशाखाध्ययनः शुचिः । मीमांसातत्त्वविज्ञानः श्रोत्रियोऽनृतदूषकः ॥).

The expression कल्पानुकल्पे पुनः shows that the creation and dissolution of the mundane existence will never come to an end. Such an everlasting phenomenon is an example of *pravāhanityatā* or *pariṇāminityatā* (everchanging permanence or the permanence of the changeful).

(No. 2) The author bows down to Hari who is described here by using some significant epithets. The meaning of almost all of the epithets is clear.

वियत्सन्निभ—similar to the sky. The similarity shows super-eminent greatness. In व्यक्ताव्यक्तपर *vyakta* and *avyakta* are to be taken in their Sāṁkhyan sense.

निर्गुण—According to the Vaiṣṇava view *nirguṇa* does not mean 'bereft of all attributes'; but 'devoid of all those *guṇas* that are born of *prakṛti*.[2]

(No. 3) The verse is based on (or is an enlarged imitation of) the well-known Vedic Gāyatrī mantra (RV. 3.62.10).[3] Since Om (*praṇava*) and the three *mahāvyāhṛtis* (*bhūr*, *bhuvar* and *svar*) are uttered with the Gāyatrī mantra when it is used in some particular acts, they are read in this imitative verse also.

It may be observed that this verse contains the following words which are not used in the mantra : *nisargavimala* is used to qualify *bhargas*; *paramasya viṣṇoḥ*, to qualify *savituḥ*; *vayam*, to show the agent of the verb *dhīmahi*; *īhitamatīn*, to qualify *naḥ*; *yatnāt*, to modify the verb *pracodayāt*. The significance of the word *adhigatam* and its connection with other words are not clear.

It is to be noted in this connection that the Gāyatrī mantra has been given an important place in the Purāṇas. The Agnipurāṇa devotes a whole chapter to explain it (ch. 216); here Savitṛ is said to be the same as bhagavat Viṣṇu. The Matsya-p. regards

2. योऽसौ निर्गुण इत्युक्तः शास्त्रेषु जगदीश्वरः । प्राकृतैर्हेयसंयुक्तैर्गुणैर्हीनत्वमुच्यते॥ (Pādmottarakhaṇḍa quoted in Bhāgavatasandarbha, p. 98).

3. The Gāyatrī mantra is read in other Vedic works also; see yajuss Mādhyandina 3.35; Tai. Saṁ. 1.5.6.4; 4.1.11.1; Tai. Ār. 1.11.2. It is explained in Gopatha Brāhmaṇa 1.32-33 and Jaiminīya-upaniṣad-brāhmaṇa 4.27-28.

the Gāyatrī mantra as *tripadā* (171.24, having three *pādas*, feet) and Bhāgavata 11.17.25 uses the word *tripadī* to refer to this mantra. This mantra is found (in the Anuṣṭubh metre with slight changes) in Padma-p. 6.272.209-211.[4] Here the verses refer to Kṛṣṇa, the son of Yaśodā.

The Skanda-p. describes this mantra as having 24 syllables, 6 *kukṣis*, 3 *pādas* and 5 *śirases*.[5] The real significance of *ṣaṭkukṣi* and *pañcaśīrṣopalakṣitā* is to be determined. Can *pañcaśīrsa* refers to the five parts of the mantra, namely (1) *Om*, (2) the *mahāvyāhṛtis* and (3-5) the three *pādas* of the mantra. On account of these five parts the Gāyatrī is called *pañcāvasanā* (one pause after each part).

(No. 4) The lotus feet of Hari (Viṣṇu) are praised here. They are resorted to by yogins with purified heart; they can uproot the fear of the worldly existence; they are said to traverse the three *lokas* (regions), namely *bhūr* (the *pṛthivīloka*), *bhuvar* (the *antarikṣa loka*) and the *svar* (the *dyu-loka*).[6]

(No. 5) The verse describes the Kūrma incarnation of Viṣṇu. He is said to be able to destroy sins; his body stays on the hood of the great snake lying in the Kṣīroda ocean; being agitated by his breath the ocean gets disturbed.

The verse has a great similarity with Bhāgavata 12.13.2 (पृष्ठे भ्राम्यद''''पान्तु वः).

(No. 6) Hari, to whom the author bows down, is described here by using adjectival expressions like *aja*, *ajara*, etc. In सकलकरणहीन, *karaṇa* means the internal and external organs. Since

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4. प्रचोदयात् is a form of the fifth lakāra लेट् and not of the lakāra लिङ् as has been taken by Nīlakaṇṭha in his comm. on the first verse of the Devī-bhāgavata (प्रचोदयात् प्रेरयेत्, प्रार्थनायां लिङ्). In लिङ् the proper form would be प्रचोदयेत्.
5. छन्दसां प्रवरा देवी चतुर्विंशाक्षरा परा ॥ षट्कुक्षिः सा त्रिपादा च पञ्चशीर्षोपलक्षिता । (स्कन्द पु०, चतुरशीतिलिङ्गमाहात्म्य, 59.8b-9a).
6. See Vāyu-p. 64.12-17 for the etymology of these three words.

Hari (Viṣṇu) transcends Māyā, he is said to be *amāya.*[7] भूतदेहादिहीन shows that the body of Viṣṇu is *abhautika,* non-elemental; according to the Vaiṣṇavas it is *cinmaya* and as such immortal; *vide* Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa's comm. on Tattvasandarbha, pp. 73-74.

(No. 7) The deity invoked in this verse seems to be Viṣṇu as the purpose of this Purāṇa is to glorify Viṣṇu, who is here recalled by the name Acyuta. The preceding sentence ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय also shows that the deity invoked here is Viṣṇu. Vighneśa, usually used for Gaṇeśa[8] is to be taken here as an adjectival word meaning 'lord of the obstacles' i. e., one who can ward off all obstacles of his devotees'. The other epithets, namely *ananta, aja,* etc. may appropriety be used to qualify Hari. The verse may however be taken as referring to Gaṇeśa.[9]

Lokapālas are the governing deities of the eight directions (or the quarters of the sky); *vide* Amarakośa 1.3.2. According to some they are ten, Brahmā and Ananta being the superintending deities of the *ūrdhva* and *adhas* directions respectively.

Sarvārtha means the four *arthas* i. e. *puruṣārthas* (goals of life), namely *dharma, artha, kāma* and *mokṣa.*

Vaidika-tāntrikādi-vividhaiḥ—It is important to note that the way prescribed for worshipping Viṣṇu is said to be either Vedic

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7. A very apt definition of Māyā is given in the Devī-purāṇa : विचित्रकार्यकरणा अचिन्तितफलप्रदा । स्वप्नेन्द्रजालवल् लोके माया तेन प्रकीर्तिता ॥ (37.58).

8. In the names विघ्नेश, विघ्नराज and the like of Gaṇeśa the word vighna is the name of a demon who was killed by Gaṇeśa. As the demon seems to be a personification of impediments, Gaṇeśa is always invoked for the destruction of impediments that happen in the way of achieving success.

9. Since a maṅgalācaraṇā verse on Gaṇeśa is not found in any Purāṇa—not even in the Gaṇapati-khaṇḍa or the Brahmavaivarta-purāṇa (except in the Uttarakhaṇḍa of the Bhaviṣya-purāṇa)—it is doubtful whether the verse in the Kalki-purāṇa (which intends to glorify Viṣṇu) can properly refer to Gaṇeśa. There arises however no difficulty in taking the verse as referring to Gaṇeśa if it is read independently.

or Tāntric or of any other form. In the Purāṇas this view is propounded in various ways.[10]

(No. 8) It is propounded here that the supreme deity, who transcends the three guṇas, who is meditated by yogins firmly established in yoga, who is not perceived even by sages who practise penances in different lives, assumes the imcomparable form of black (*śyāma*) complexion so that the devotees can meditate on him.

Since the root ध्यै चिन्तायाम् is parasmaipadin, the forms ध्यायन्ते (in the place of ध्यायन्ति) and ध्याये (in the place of ध्यायामि are to be taken as Purāṇic in character.

The use of the word श्यामरूप is significant and it shows that the Purāṇa was composed by a devotee of some particular sect of the Vaiṣṇavas.[11] Cp. Brahmasaṁhitā 5.38 (one of the sacred texts of the Gauḍiya Vaiṣṇava school) (यं श्यामसुन्दर ···· गोविन्दमादिपुरुषं तमहं भजामि). For a discussion on the *śyāma* colour of Viṣṇu, see the Paramātmasandarbha (sec on guṇāvatāra) of Jīvagosvāmin.

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10. यजन्ति वेदतन्त्राभ्याम् (Bhāg. 11.5.28); वैदिकी तान्त्रिकी दीक्षा (Bhāg. 11.11.37); वेदोक्तविधिना आगमोक्तेन वा (Varāha-p. 211.92); उभाभ्यां वेदतन्त्राभ्याम् (Padma-p. 4.90.21); वैदिकस्तान्त्रिको मिश्रः श्रीविष्णोस्त्रिविधो मखः (Padma-p. 4.90.3); शृणु····माधवार्चनम् । वैदिकं तान्त्रिकं चापि मिश्रकं पापनाशनम् ॥ (Padma-p. 4.90.1).
11. Cp. तापिच्छश्यामलं रूपम् in the Viṣṇudharmottar-up. (quoted in Śrikṛṣṇasandarbha). Tāpiccha is the same as the Tamāla tree, which has a very dark bark. The form तापिञ्छ is also found in the Purāṇas.

THE CITRASŪTRA AND ITS DATE

By

C. SIVARAMAMURTI

[From the book : *Citrasūtra of Viṣṇudharmottara* with kind permission of the Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda]

Polite education required a knowledge of several fine arts in addition to erudition in literature, rhetoric, grammar, logic, systems of philosophy and vast acquaintance with allied subjects. One of the common literary games *prahelikā*, a variety of which was *antādi* requiring a vast fund of memorised verses to quote, *samayocitapadyamālikā*, ready wit to whip up appropriate quotations for an occasion, is an indication of how sharpened was the wisdom of a *nāgaraka*, educated urbane man about town. Painting was rated high among these *vinodasthānas* (lit. seat of pleasure) hobbies. In the *Kāmasūtra*, Vātsyāyana describes the set up and arrangement of the living room of a typical *nāgaraka*, an urban gentleman of taste with a knowledge of the *vinodasthānas* and a keen eye and ear for painting, dance and music. This includes a *vīṇā* suspended from a peg, a painting board, a box full of colours and brushes, a book of literary value : *nāgadantāvasaktā vīṇā, citraphalakaṁ vartikāsamugakaḥ, yaḥ kaścit pustakaḥ, kuraṇṭakamālāś ca, Kāmasūtra* 4. 10. Śyāmilaka mentions a cup for holding colours casually kept on the window sill : *tato'ham asaṅgam ālekhyavarṇakapātraṁ gavākṣād ākṣipya . . , Pādatāḍitaka*, p. 35.

The gentleman of leisure who learnt and practised art as a *vinodasthāna* could never dream of using it as a profession for his livelihood. That is why the *saṁvāhaka* in the *Mṛcchakaṭika* laments that an art, learnt as an accomplishment, had, in changed circumstances, become his means of livelihood : *Kaleti śikṣitā ājīvikedānīṁ saṁvṛttā, Mṛcchakaṭika* 2. The courtesan, who was among the most accomplished, was no doubt an adept in music, dance, painting, sculpture, literature and so forth, but Dāmodaragupta makes it clear that her effort to excel in her knowledge of the fine arts was more to brandish her accomplishments and attract attention as much by these as by her personal charm and stamina

that she built up assiduously : *māṁsarasābhyavahāraḥ puruṣāhatipīḍ-ayā na tu spṛhayā, ālekhyādau vyasanaṁ vaidagdhyakhyātaye na tu vinod-āya, Kuṭṭanīmata*, 307. Īśvaradatta defends the *veśavāsa*, the abode of courtesan, by representing it as the very fountain of fine arts, wit and wisdom, and many accomplishments : *prāgalbhyaṁ sthān-aśauryaṁ vacananipuṇatāṁ sauṣṭhavaṁ sattvadīptiṁ citrajñānaṁ pramodaṁ surataguṇanidhiṁ raktanārīnivṛttim, citrādīnāṁ kalānām adhigamanam atho saukhyam agryaṁ ca kāmī prāpnotyāśritya veśaṁ yadi katham ayaśas tasya loko bravīti, Dhūrtaviṭasaṁvāda*, p. 27. Still, however, the noble influence of painting as a great art was such that even the calcula-ting courtesan could be madly in love with a not-too-prosperous master in painting by her passion for art. Śyāmilaka gives the instance of Kusumāvatikā, an accomplished courtesan, passiona-tely adoring the able *citrācārya* Śivasvāmin mainly for his mastery in the art : *jānīta evāsmatsvāmī yathāsmatsakhyā kusumāvatikāyāḥ priyavayasyaṁ citrācāryaṁ Śivasvāminam prati mahān madanonmādaḥ, iti, Pādatāḍitaka* p. 25.

The professional aspect of art was most pronounced among the courtesans, and the state gave special attention to the impar-ting of this knowledge to them by supporting *śilpins* who were instrumental in it. Kauṭilya makes it obligatory on the part of the state to support the art masters, that spread their knowledge among pupils from such professions as required proficiency in different branches of the fine arts as a mark of their accomplish-ment, as it thereby enhanced the prestige of the state itself through the renown of such professionals : *gītavādyapāṭhyanṛttanāṭyākṣara-citravīṇāveṇumṛdaṅgaparacittajñānagandhamālyasaṁyūhanasampādanasaṁ-vāhanavaiśikakalājñānāni gaṇikādāsīraṅgopajīvinīśca grāhayato rājamaṇ-ḍalād ājīvaṁ kuryāt, Arthaśāstra* 2.27.44.

It is this importance attached to the knowledge of fine arts and the popularity of the *vinodasthānas* among several amateurs that became almost an inducement to opulent charlatans to pre-tend a knowledge to which they could have no claim. Dāmodara-gupta gives a telling example in Bhaṭṭaputra, who always carried in his hand a pair of paper-cut scissors to brandish in assemblies and impress his knowledge of elegant figure cutting, though, ex-cept for his self conceit, he had no knowlege of this or any other art for that matter : *patracchedam ajānan jānan vā kauśalaṁ kalāviṣaye, prakaṭayati janasamāje bibhrāṇaḥ patrakartarīṁ satatam, Kuṭṭanīmata* 74.

Naturally when some painters and sculptors excelled in their profession, the baneful influence of the courtesan dancers and those successful on the stage, developed in them a certain ego and vanity, making them even overbearing in their attitude, though better birth, upbringing and reverence for the art would normally have given them greater humility: *abhyadhikaṁ dhṛṣṭatvam prāyeṇa hi śilpajīvino bhavati, āśritanartakavṛtter viśeṣato vijitaraṅgasya*, *Kuṭṭanīmata* 878.

Painting among fine arts indeed became so important that it was elaborated as a science very much as dance or music. Such a sophisticated study naturally brought into being standards of art criticism like those of literary criticism in *alaṅkāraśāstra*. A standard text as a desideratum is to be expected to exist for such elaborate study, which alone could provide the textual definitions of the delicate nuances of the art. Fortunately such a text has been found in the *Citrasūtra* of the *Viṣṇudharmottara*, an appendix of the *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, thanks to Professor Stella Kramrisch who translated and discussed this section over five decades ago. *Guṇas* and *doṣas*, merits and defects, the proper portrayal of *rasas*, emotions, suggestive import, styles of execution, are all elaborated in the *Citrasūtra* of the *Viṣṇudharmottara*, the standard text on the principles of painting. Was this text assiduously studied by the painters and connoisseurs? Is it known from any sources? Has it been mentioned as a standard book on art as the *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata is known to be the standard text on dance? The answer is that a text, *Citrasūtra*, is mentioned in the *Kuṭṭanīmata*. The only *Citrasūtra* that we know is the one in the *Viṣṇudharmottara*. It very well answers the requirement of such a text, and has valuable material. *Nāgarakas*, connoisseurs of art, accomplished courtesans, painters and sculptors, among others that could claim a liberal education, studied the *Citrasūtra* along with other standard texts on other subjects like dance and music. Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*, Dattila's text on music and the *Citrasūtra* are among the many standard books on the fine arts studied by the accomplished courtesan Mālatī as Dāmodaragupta has it: *bharataviśākhiladattilavṛkṣāyurvedacitrasūtreṣu, patracchedavidhāne bhramakarmaṇi pustasūdaśāstreṣu*, *Kuṭṭanīmata* 124.

The *Viṣṇudharmottara* elaborates, how to understand the principles of *citra* from the *Citrasūtra*, a knowledge of *nāṭya* or

dance is essential, and to comprehend that, knowledge of *ātodya* or instrumental music is a necessity, which, in its turn, requires proficiency in *gīta* or vocal music, this last, again, depending on a knowledge of language, both classical and unsophisticated, *saṁskṛta* and *prākṛta*, with its rich literature in prose and poetry, its peculiarities of grammar, prosody, nuances of usage, interplay of regional languages and so forth. So in fact all these are dealt with. It may be that, just as the principles of dance, music, rhetoric, etc., are enumerated here as in their individual regular elaborate texts, the principles of *citra* are briefly given here and a more elaborate text on which this is based or for which this forms a nucleus does exist. But so far there has not yet been found another text styled *Citrasūtra*, though the study of it is mentioned so early as in the eighth century A. D.

The date of the Viṣṇudharmottara and the Citrasūtra which is part of it could help understanding this problem better. Dāmodaragupta, the chief minister of King Muktāpīḍa Lalitāditya of Kashmir of the Karkoṭa dynasty, who was himself learned and a patron of letters, and in whose court were such great litteraturs like Ānandavardhana, belongs to the eighth century. The *Citrasūtra* mentioned by Dāmodaragupta is to be understood as the *Citrasūtra* of the *Viṣṇudharmottara*, till any other independent text of that importance in textual content and with identical name is found.

Moreover the Viṣṇudharmottara itself is quoted by Śaṅkarācārya in his bhāṣya on the *Viṣṇusahasranāma* : *rasān ādatta iti raviḥ ādityātmā, rasānāṁ ca tathādānād ravir ityabhidhīyate*' (1.30.16) *iti Viṣṇudharmottare....sarvasya jagataḥ prasavitā savitā 'prajānāṁ tu prasavanāt saviteti nigadyate*' (1.30.15) *iti Viṣṇudharmottare*, *Viṣṇusahasranāma* 107. Śaṅkara lived in the eighth century. This is therefore anterior to this date. The attribution of some of the works to Śaṅkara has again been considered a problem to be determined. Śaṅkara wrote the most erudite bhāṣyas, allegorical and philosophical hymns, as well as the simplest but most effective poems for educating the least sophisticated, educationally equipped and younger age groups. He met their capacity by reaching them at their level. An erudite paṇdit does not talk to his grandchild in the terse language of Patañjali or Vācaspati

Miśra. Śaṅkara had different levels to reach and different approaches to teach. He had to preach the way of bliss through *jñāna*, the path of attainment of grace through ***bhakti***, through *saguṇa* and *nirguṇa upāsanā*.

The stamp of Śa kara's composition already noticed in his repetition of favoured phrases in more than one poetic piece is again chosen for quotation in inscriptions not too far remote in age. An example is *nalinīdalagatajalamatitaralam, tadvajjīvitam atiśayacapalam* from the *Mohamudgara* or *Bhajagovindastotra* as it is more popularly known, repeated in the line *nalinīdalagatajalavat taralam kiṁ yauvanaṁ dhanaṁ cāyuḥ* of the *Praśnottararatnamālikā* 11. This is bodily dovetailed in the text of the Sevadi copper plate inscription of the Cāhamāna king Ratnapāla dated in the early years of the twelfth century A. D. Śaṅkara's date is confirmed as the eighth century by not only the mention of Bhagavatpāda Śaṅkara as the master from whom studied philosophy Śivasoma the venerable *rājaguru* of Indravarman I as given in an inscription in Pallava Grantha of the ninth century from Kambuja a feudatory state of Fu-nan in Cambodia : *yenādhītāni śāstrāṇi bhagavacchaṅkarāhvayāt, niśśeṣasūrimūrdhālimālālīḍhāṅghripaṅkajāt*, Coedes, G. *Inscriptions du Cambodge* 1, p. 37, but also from the protrait of his from one of the Pallava shrines in Kāñc - puram. In what esteem Śaṅkara was held during his own time is clear from the terms in which he is referred in the inscription 'as with his lotus feet kissed by the swarm of bees in the shape of the heads of the totality of intellectuals', and the importance accorded him by placing him next to Vyāsa and close to Dakṣiṇām rti.

In discussing the date of the *Viṣṇudharmottara*, Dr. Kramrisch has argued that if Śaṅkara were known to this text he would have been made an attendant deity in the pantheon surrounding Viṣṇu. "Had Śaṅkara existed at the time of the compilation of the chapters on painting, the author would have incorporated him into the Vaiṣṇava pantheon in spite of his being an incarnation of Śiva", Kramrisch p. 3. Actually Śaṅkara is shown as seated to the right in adoration of Viṣṇu as a teacher, Gītācārya, with *akṣamālā* in his lower right hand and other attributes in the rest, a rare Gurjara Pratīh ra sculpture of the ninth century from

Rajasthan in the collection of Mrs. Pupul Jayakar. This is contemporaneous with Vācaspati Miśra, one of the greatest intellectuals that commented on the *bhāṣyas* of the great *ācārya*. Dr. Kramrisch's argument is thus more than answered and confirmed by this very sculpture. The text of the *Viṣṇudharmottara* is unaware of Śaṅkara whom however the Pallava sculptor associated with Śiva in the company of Vyāsa and the Pratihāra sculptor with Viṣṇu as the expounder of the Gītā, the text of which is recorded by Vyāsa, who is identified with Viṣṇu. Śaṅkara quotes the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* 3. 4. 5. to identify Vyāsa, with Viṣṇu ***kṛṣṇadvaipāyanaṁ vyāsaṁ viddhi nārāyaṇaṁ prabhum, ko hyanyaḥ puṇḍarīkākṣāt mahābhāratakṛid bhavet.***

There is also another feature in the sculpture from Kāñcīpuram representing Vyāsa accompanied by Śaṅkara. The portrait type of Vyāsa already given in the southern recension of the *Mahābhārata*, preserved also in the text from Bali edited by Sylvain Levi, reads as 'dark like laden cloud, tawny in his bound up locks of hair, tall, staff in hand, antelope-skin covered, purifying the worlds by his look, the foremost of poets, son of Parāśara, reveals himself in the divisions of the *Mahābhārata* : *abhraśyāmaḥ piṅgajaṭābaddhakalāpaḥ prāṁśur daṇḍī kṛṣṇamṛgatvakparidhānaḥ, sākṣāllokān pāvayamānaḥ kavimukhyaḥ pārāśaryaḥ parvasu rūpaṁ vitanotu, Mahābhārata* 1. The Viṣṇudharmottara nearly repeats it, describing Vyāsa as dark-hued, of emaciated form, tawny in his tied up locks of hair and attended by his four disciples Sumantu, Jaimini, Paila and Vaiśampāyana : ***kṛṣṇaḥ kṛśatanur vyāsaḥ piṅgalātijaṭādharaḥ, sumantur jaiminiḥ pailo vaiśampāyana eva ca, tasya śiṣyās tu kartavyās catvāraḥ paripārśvayoḥ, Viṣṇudharmottara*** 3. 85. 65-66. The disciples are also shown with Vyāsa, though all of them including Vyāsa, are subordinated to Śiva as the supreme teacher, Dakṣiṇāmūrti, in the main niche, flanking which are two niches, where again a division of them is so made that Vyāsa and Jaimini representing *Pūrva-* and *Uttaramīmāṁsā* are prominent each in one. A significant addition is Śaṅkara in the group, and significantly very close to Vyāsa. The *Viṣṇudharmottara* mentions also the mode of representation of Vālmīki, fair in colour, almost covered up by a mass of bound-up locks, lost in penance, peaceful, neither lanky nor obese : ***gauras tu kāryo vālmīkir jaṭāmaṇḍaladurdṛśaḥ, tapasyābhiratas śānto na kṛśo na***

ca pīvaraḥ, *Viṣṇudharmottara* 3. 95. 64. And we know only one instance of an image of his installed in the only temple dedicated to him in the far off village Tra Kieu in the province of Quang-Nam in Annam and equated with Simhapura, the ancient capital of Champa. This is again an early tradition, a tradition following the dictum of this text which is again thus proven to be anterior to the eighth century.

Dr. Priyabala Shah, in proceeding upwards from the latest works that mention the Viṣṇudharmottara, notes Hemādri's mention in the *Caturvargacintāmaṇi* in about 1260 A. D., and Alberuni's in about 1030 A. D. But these do not go beyond the mention of the name of the work. The specific use of special terms described in detail in the *Citrasūtra* of the *Viṣṇudharmottara* is found in a very early poem in a regional language in a casual way, establishing that the terms were already so well known and in use, and probably were so very much in vogue that they had become part of cultural life and existence, pointing to the text of the *Citrasūtra* to be so much anterior to it by several centuries. This reference is to the *vartanas* or modes of shading like *patraka* and *binduka* as well as the term *nimnonnata* used by Kālidasa and, earlier, in the *Mahābhārata*, from which quotes Kṣemendra. The passage occurs in the Telugu poem Kumārasambhava by Nanne-choḍa, claimed by Ramakrishna Kavi, who discovered and made known to the world its rare manuscript and text, to belong to the ninth century, though another opinion believes it to be slightly later than Nannaya, the first of the three authors of the Mahā-bhārata in Telugu. The passage *patrakabindukanimnonnatambul alavaraci* is indeed revealing. It really points to a date for our text far anterior to it, and again confirms its date prior to the eighth century, already seen from its reference by Śaṅkara.

As has been discussed by Dr. Kramrisch and Dr. Priyabala Shah the *Viṣṇudharmottara* has freely drawn from earlier sources. The text of the ***Nāṭyaśāstra*** has been of great help to the compila-tion of the chapters on dance in the ***Viṣṇudharmottara***. Still there are some variations in the enumeration of the ***karaṇas***, ***aṅgahāras***, ***hastas***, which do not in themselves constitute very special indica-tions of date, though some may constitute. Thus the eight ***rasas*** of the ***Nāṭyaśāstra*** contrast here with the nine enumerated in the

Viṣṇudharmottara. In the Ubhayābhisārikā of Vararuci an interesting passage enumerating dance movements, flavours and musical rhythms confirms the *rasas* as eight-fold and shows its proximity to the *Nāṭyaśāstra* in date. Priyaṅgusenā, the famous young dancer, combines in herself the basic requisites, like beauty of form, the bloom of the dawn of youth, alluring hue, great bodily sheen and several such others. Apart from this are her accomplishments in the art itself, her mastery over the four-fold *abhinaya*, the thirty-two varieties of hand movements, eighteen modes of glances, six stances, three-fold movements, eight flavours, tripartite musical rhythm and other such dance factors, which are, as the poet describes, beautified by their association with such a talented danseuse : *yasyās tāvad prathamaṁ rūpaśrīnavayauvanadyutikāntyādīnāṁ guṇānāṁ sampat, caturvidhābhinayasiddhiḥ, dvātriṁśadvidho hastapracāraḥ, aṣṭādaśavidhaṁ nirīkṣaṇam, ṣaṭ sthānāni, gatitrayam, aṣṭau rasāḥ, trayo gītavāditrādilayā, ityevamādīni nṛttāṅgāni tvadāśrayeṇālaṅkṛtāni, Ubhayābhisārikā p.* 142. Here the *rasadṛṣṭis* and *sthāyidṛṣṭis* are alone taken which explains the count eighteen. The number of *hastapracāras* here, taking only *asaṁyuta* and *saṁyuta* and including *nṛttahastas*, are exceeded by the enumeration given in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and the *Viṣṇudharmottara* by five and three respectively. These variations may not help in themselves to determine their relative position in age. Yet the number of *rasas* is not altogether to be excluded in the study of the age of the works. Dr. Manomohan Ghosh has felt that 100 B. C. could be the date of *Nāṭyaśāstra*. The dance sculptures from Bhārhut and Amarāvatī illustrating definite ideas in the technique of dance language confirm this date. This would only place the *Viṣṇudharmottara* later than the second-first centuries B. C. But how much later has to be determined.

Dr. Priyabala Shah discusses the similarity between Bhāmaha's *Kāvyālaṅkāra*, Daṇḍin's *Kāvyādarśa* and the section on literature in the *Viṣṇudharmottara*. Considering the tendency in *alaṅkāra* literature to increase *alaṅkāras* gradually and diminish the importance of *prahelikas*, we may safely conclude that the text of the *Viṣṇudharmottara* with its eighteen *alaṅkāras* and twenty four *prahelikas* has precedence in date over Bhāmaha and Dandin who give respectively thirty-nine and thirty-five *alaṅkaras* and the

latter of these two, sixteen *prahelikas*. This would take the *Viṣṇudarmottara* before the seventh century.

Dr. Priyabala Shah has given another point to argue a date for the *Viṣṇudharmottara* in the fourth century. Taking the passage *caitro madhur iti smṛtaḥ vaiśākho mādhavaḥ proktaḥ*, *Viṣṇudharmottara* 3. 9. 3, she points out that sixteen hundred years ago, the day of the vernal equinox was the day when the sun entered the sign *meṣa*. The identity of the lunar months *caitra*, *vaiśākha*, *jyeṣṭha*, *āṣāḍha* and the rest with the seasonal months *madhu*, *mādhava*, *sukha*,[1] *śuci*, etc., shows that the beginning of spring was in *caitra* at that far off date, and the spring equinox was when the sun entered *meṣa*. The line *tulāmeṣagate bhānau viṣuvaddinam ucyate*, *Viṣṇudharmottara* 3. 9. 6. is in support of this. Today however the spring equinox is twenty three days earlier. The correspondence between the lunar and seasonal months is answered in all early works that go back before the fourth century like the *Amarakośa* and the *Arthaśāstra*. In the former the lines are clear : *mārgaśīrṣe sahā mārga āgrahāyanikaśca saḥ, pauṣe taiṣasahasyau dvau tapā māghe' tha phālgune, syāt tapasyaḥ phālgunikas syāccaitre caitriko madhuḥ, vaiśākhe mādhavo radho jyeṣhe śukras śucistvayam, āṣāḍhe śrāvaṇe tu syān nabhas śrāvaṇikaśca saḥ, syur nabhasyaprauṣṭhapadabhadrabhādrapadāḥ samāḥ*, *Amarakośa* 1. 3. 15-17.

The upper age limit has been held by her on the strength of the northern dress *udīcyaveśa* and *aviyaṅga* or *viyaṅga* mentioned for Sūrya as due to Magian influence from Persia that Sir R. G. Bhandarkar places in the third century A. D. But there are Kuṣāṇa images of Sūrya of the first and second centuries also. Examination of other early iconographic factors also described in the *Viṣṇudharmottara* considerably help in understanding the date of the text.

In the *Śatarudrīya* of the *Kṛṣṇayajurvedataittirīya saṁhitā*, the epithet *dhāvadbhyaḥ* indicates the running forms of deities in apposition to the standing and reclining. The *Viṣṇudharmottara* gives an excellent example for this in Vāyu, who is all the time on the move in the proverbial *vāyuvega* mentioned by Vālmiki in the context of

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1. The correct word is *śukra*; *sukha* seems to be a printing error [Ed.].

Hanumān's swift flight over the sea, *vāyuvegasavegasya*, *Rāmāyaṇa*, 5. 37. 45. On one variety of Kaniṣka's coins Vāyu is represented running very fast with dishevelled hair, holding the terminals of his upper garment filled with wind, indicating his swift movement *vāyupūritavastraśca dvibhujo rūpasaṁyutaḥ, kāryo gṛhītavastrāntaḥ korābhyāṁ pavano dvija, vyāvṛttāsyas tathākāryo devo vyākulamūrdhajoḥ*, *Viṣṇudharmottara* 3. 58. 1-3. This early form of Vāyu occurs only in this case and is never repeated in any later representation of the deity. In early medieval sculpture, Vāyu still carries the windfilled upper garment even as Agni, aflame in Gupta sculpture, *jvālāmālākulam*, *Viṣṇudharmottara* 3. 56. 1 has still flames on his shoulders in early medieval representations. In later medieval sculpture, however, it is only the banner or his swift vehicle the deer that distinguish him. The striking coincidence of every detail of the description and the figure on this century coin is very significant indeed, especially when it is noted that this form never occurs any later.

In the case of Sūrya wearing *udīcya veṣa* or northern dress the mention of moustaches is significant. It not only follows an early Vedic description *hiraṇyasmaśru* (*Taittirīya Āraṇyaka*) but also points to the early Kuṣāṇa type that has the moustaches, absent in later sculptures of the deity. His attendants Daṇḍa and Piṅgala are also shown in *udīcyaveṣa* as described in the *Viṣṇudharmottara*. This *udīcyaveṣa* for Sūrya is reiterated in the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* of Varāhamihira, an early Gupta text, *kuryād udīcyaveṣaṁ gūḍhaṁ pādād uro yāvat, kamalodaradyutimukhaḥ kañcukaguptas smitaprasannamukhaḥ*, *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* 57. 46-48. On the reverse of a copper coin of Huviṣka, shown riding an elephant on the obverse, there is represented Sūrya whom the legend in Greek letters styles *Mioro* corresponding to Sanskrit *Mihira*. The deity is haloed, wears long coat and top boots. This is the Central Asian *udīcya veṣa* for Sūrya, the dress of the Kuṣāṇa. The early indigenous type of turbaned, barebodied, garland-decorated Sūrya now changes into this Central Asian type. This latter is the form best known to the author of the *Viṣṇudharmottara* and he describes it.

The *Viṣṇudharmottara* makes a difference in the depiction of Skanda by mentioning four varieties, Kumāra, Skanda, Viśākha and Guha. The first is six-faced and the rest have each a normal single face. There is also an identification of Vāsudeva

Viṣṇu with Kumāra as assuming that form to lead the army of the gods, *devasenā : caturmūrteḥ kumārasya rūpaṁ te vacmi yādava, kumāraś ca tathā skando viśākhaśca guhas tathā, kumāras ṣaṇmukhaḥ kāryas śikhaṇḍakavibhūṣaṇaḥ . . . caturbhujo hi bhagavān vāsudevas sanātanaḥ, prādurbhūtaḥ kumāras tu devasenāninīṣayā, Viṣṇudharmottara* 3.71.3, 4, 7. We know that varieties of Kumāra were known even in the days of Patañjali who mentions individually Skanda and Viśākha as separate deities *śivas skando viśākha iti, Mahābhāṣya.* The identity of Kumāra with Viṣṇu is rather confusing, as normally it is understood that the importance of Kumāra or Kārtikeya lay in his being the glowing power of Śiva himself, exceeding even solar effulgence, conserved in flaming fire to be the protector of the celestial army : *rakṣāhetor navaśaśibhṛtā vāsavīnāṁ camūnām atyādityaṁ hutavahamukhe sambhṛtaṁ taddhi tejaḥ, Meghadūta* 1. 46.

To understand this identity of Kumāra with Viṣṇu, the ancient name of Kumāra, Brahmaṇyadeva, denoting Kumāra on Yaudheya coins associating him with both the single-faced and six-faced form of the deity, and the ancient *mahāmantra* that associates the name Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva, offer the clue. The Yaudheya, a warlike tribe renowned for their valour in battle, chose Kārtikeya as their war-lord and represented him holding a spear and inscribed the legend in Brāhmī *yaudheyagaṇasya jaya* or *brahmaṇyadevasya yaudheyagaṇasya jaya*, having him ever before them as the ideal in military glory. The six- headed variety of Kumāra also represented on the Yaudheya coins leaves no doubt about who the Brahanyadeva is. Kumāra is known from other sources also as Brahmanyadeva. In the Bilsad inscription of Kumāragupta, Brahmaṇyadeva is clearly stated to be a synonym of Svāmi Mahāsena; and the line of Kālidasa's Meghadūta describing him as the wonderful form of the conserved effulgence of the Lord from all the three worlds is echoed : *bhagavatas trailokyatejassambhārasantatādbhutamūrter brahmaṇyadevasya svāmimahāsenasyāyatane, Corp Inscr. Ind.* 3. pp. 44-45. The famous verse *namo brahmaṇyadevāya gobrāhmaṇahitāya ca, jagaddhitāya kṛṣṇāya govindāya namo namaḥ* associates Brahmaṇyadeva with Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva. The *Viṣṇudharmottara*, being very close in date to both these traditions, voices this association with Viṣṇu as well, and explains the train of thought. It also takes into account the six-faced and single-faced form of the deity, the variety itself occurring on early coins.

The Vaiṣṇavite tradition of representing Saṅkarṣaṇa, Vāsudeva, Pradyumna, Aniruddha and Sāmba is observed in one of the earliest sculptures of the early Pallavas of the Prākṛt characters, which hails from the Village Koṇḍamoṭu in Guṇṭūr district. It is carved in the late Sātavāhana style developed during the time of the Ikṣvākus and continued by Pallavas whose territory extended here. It is one of the most important sculptures for the study of early Hindu iconography, particularly in South India. The central figure is an arresting one of Narasiṁha in almost complete zoomorphic form, as a lion seated on a throne, with only the addition of a pair of human arms to carry the club and wheel. The early type of *śrīvatsa*, the symbol of Śrī, is marked on the name just above the chest of the lion. There are two deities to the right of the lion and three to the left, all of them with a single pair of arms each. Flanking the lion, immediately near it, are Vāsudeva wearing a crown, with his right hand held up in *abhaya* and the left carrying the conch Pāñcajanya, and Pradyumna holding a bow and arrow. To the right of Vāsudeva is Sāmba distinguished by his long club, here looking almost a pestle, as usual in very early representations of Viṣṇu himself holding the club, more resting his hand on its side than holding it. To the left of Pradyumna is Saṅkarṣaṇa with a wine cup in his right hand. Beyond and at the end of the whole group is Aniruddha with sword and shield as he should be represented. It is interesting that the text of the *Viṣṇudharmottara* gives these attributes as shown here though the sculpture is slightly earlier than the text : *cāpabāṇādharaḥ kāryaḥ pradyumnaśca sudarśanaḥ, rājan dūrvādalaśyāmas śvetavāsā madotkaṭaḥ, kartavyoś cāniruddho' pi khadgacarmadharaḥ prabhuḥ, sāmbaḥ kāryo gadāhastas surūpaś ca viśeṣataḥ, sāmbāniruddhau kartavyau padmābhau raktavāsasau.* The *makaradhvaja* shown to the left of Sāmba is almost all for Pradyumna whose hands are both engaged. It is to the left as it should be, *vāmapārśvagataḥ kāryā devānāṁ pravarā dhvajāḥ, Viśṇudharmottara* 3. 85. 76-78 and 28. This also tallies with the text of the Bṛhatsaṁhitā of about the same period in the case of the Vāsudeva and Saṅkarṣaṇa. The former is to be, as in the sculpture, two-armed, with his right hand in *abhaya* and the left holding the conch, *dvibhujasya tu śāntikaro dakṣiṇahasto' paraśca śaṅkhadharaḥ, Bṛhatsaṁhitā* 57. 35, the latter with his eyes rolling in drunken fantasy, a single ear-lobe decorated with jewel, the other free, *halapāṇir mada-*

vibhramalocanaśca kartavyo bibhrat kuṇḍalam ekam śaṅkhendumṛṇālagaura-vapuḥ, *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* 57. 36. The description of Baladeva's drunken languor and rolling eyes and the special adornment of a single earlobe with *kuṇḍala* is answered in the *Viṣṇudharmottara* as well. It is interesting to note how this *Pañcavīra* group enshrined is mentioned in an early inscription from the village Mora in the vicinity of Mathurā. This early predilection for *Pañcavīras* disappears in favour of the *caturvyūha* that later takes its place. This is a point in favour of an early date for the *Viṣṇudharmottara* text that describes the five. But the *caturvyūha* concept is also portrayed with equal gusto. This as well as the lack of knowledge of Narasiṁha in nearly pure zoomorphic form in the *Viṣṇudharmottara*, that, however, knows Varāha in the therianthropomorphic and purely zoomorphic form as well, suggests its date as not earlier than the third and nearer the fourth century A. D.

Early Vākāṭaka representation of Brahmā in the Elephanta caves in several panels, as among the numerous Devas hovering above and around the main form of Śiva, is indeed one of the most interesting. Brahmā is four-faced and four-armed, wearing *jaṭa* locks and *kṛṣṇājina yajñopavīta*, seated on lotus and carried lightly by a fleet of seven swans. *Ajinayajñopavīta*, sacred thread composed of deer skin, is mentioned for deity in the Śatarudriya in the epithet *upavītine*, and prescribed as essential for Vedic studies and performance of sacrifices, *ajinaṁ vāso vā dakṣiṇata upavīya dakṣiṇaṁ bāhum uddharate . . . . yajñopavītyeva adhīyīta yājayed yajeta vā*, *Taittirīya Saṁhitā*. *Kṛṣṇājina*, the skin of the black antelope, given in the text of the *Viṣṇudharmottara*, is not only very pure, but represents, by its white and dark shades, the *Ṛg* and *Yajurvedas* as they assumed this form as described in the *Taittirīya Saṁhitā*. The text of the *Viṣṇudharmottara* describes Brahmā as benign in his four faces, seated in *padmāsana* on lotus, wearing the black antelope skin upper garment with matted hair, four-armed and on a fleet of seven swans, carrying waterpot and rosary : *brahmāṇaṁ kārayed vidvān devaṁ saumyaṁ caturmukham, baddhapadmāsanaṁ toṣyaṁ tathā kṛṣṇājināmbaram, jaṭādharaṁ caturbāhuṁ saptahaṁse rathe sthitam, ekasmin dakṣiṇe panavakṣamālā tatha śubhā, kamaṇḍalur dvitīye ca sarvābharaṇadhāriṇaḥ*, *Viṣṇudharmottara* 3. 44. 5-7. It is interesting to compare with this the description of Brahmā by Bāṇa as riding a fleet of swans : *viśrāntam iva vitatapakṣatinā viyati pitāmahavimānahaṁsayū-*

thena, *Harṣacarita* 7, p. 60; ***pitāmahavimānahaṁsakulapālaḥ paryaṭan aparavaktram uccair agāyat***, *Harṣacarita* 1, p. 7. The significance in this case is that this form of Brahmā on fleet of swans, that does not appear in sculpture later than the fifth-sixth century, is an early concept fresh in the mind of the author of the *Viṣṇudharmottara*

The *Viṣṇudharmottara* describes Indra with an eye horizontally placed on the forehead, a Kuṣāṇa feature that later survived for a long time later in Nepal disappearing altogether from India after the early three, four centuries of the Christian era : ***tiryaglalāṭagenākṣṇā kartavyaś ca vibhūṣitaḥ*** *Viṣṇudharmottara* 3.50.3. This text also explains that his triple-eyed aspect is after Śambhu. It is well known that it is only in the early Kuṣāṇa ***ekamukhaliṅgas*** and in the inscribed Śiva with Gaurī from Allahabad of late Kuṣāṇa date that the eye on the forehead is horizontally shown, a feature also adopted for Indra very early and discontinued thereafter in India, though surviving in Nepal. So the mention of this feature in this text is again significant. The description here of the connotation of the four tusks of Airāvata, Indra's vehicle, is equally significant in reckoning the four expedients of royal prowess : ***arthastvairāvaṇo jñeyo dantās tasya tu kīrtitāḥ, daivamantraprabhūtsāhaśaktayas tu mahābalāḥ***, *Viṣṇudharmottara* 3.50.12. It is exactly the same idea that is voiced by Kālidāsa in his verse ***suragaja iva dantair bhagnadaityāsidhāraiḥ, naya iva paṇabandhavyaktayogair upāyaiḥ, harir iva yugadīrghair dorbhir aṁśais tadīyaiḥ, patir avanipatīnāṁ taiś cakaśe caturbhiḥ***, *Raghuvaṁśa* 10. 86.

The panel of Naranārāyaṇa at Deogarh is the earliest known representing this form. It is indeed a striking example of harmony, meticulous in every detail, as given in the text of the *Viṣṇudharmottara*. Four-armed Nārāyaṇa and Nara with a single pair of arms are seated under a Badarī tree, flanking it, wearing matted locks and black-antelope skin, holding the rosary, the very picture of tranquillity, one a complement to the other, one leg suspended and the other on or near the knee of the other : ***dūrvāśyāmo naraḥ kāryo dvibhujaśca mahābhuja, nārāyaṇaścaturbāhur nilotpaladalacchaviḥ, tayor madhye ca badarī kāryā phalavibhūṣaṇā, badaryām anu tau kāryāvakṣamālādharāvubhau, kṛṣṇājinadharau dāntau jaṭāmaṇḍaladhāriṇau, pādena caikena rathasthitena pādena caikena ca jānugena, kāryo hariścātra nareṇa tulyaḥ kṛṣṇo'pi nārāyaṇatulyamūrtiḥ,***

Viṣṇudharmottara, 3.76.2-5. To this has to be added the text narrating the birth of Urvaśī : *nārāyaṇena muninā lokānāṁ hitakāmyayā, prāptānāṁ vañcanārthāya devastrīṇāṁ mahāmuniḥ, sahakārarasaṁ gṛhya ūrau cakre varastriyam, citreṇa sā tato jātā rūpayuktā varāpsarāḥ, yāṁ dṛṣṭvā vrīḍitās sarvā jagmus tā devayoṣitaḥ, Viṣṇudharmottara*, 3.35. 2-4.

One of the earliest representations of Viṣṇu as Vaikuṇṭha is in metal and is now in the Museum fur Volkerkunde in Berlin. It is a late Gandhāran piece and is to be dated in the fourth-fifth century A. D. It is a rare example still preserving earlier Gandhāra tradition. The crown is based on the early Indian turban getting transformed into a crown with circular lotus-shaped jewel, *maulimaṇi*. The moustache, the muscular treatment of the body and the mode of garment worn, all recall Gandhāra work. This has been the inspiration for later representations of similar *caturvyūha* type of Viṣṇu with Narasiṁha-Varāha faces on either side and the Kapila aspect at the back as in the famous Vaikuṇṭha sculpture from Kashmir. The fat pot-bellied *cakra* as *āyudhapuruṣa* is delightfully treated as also Pṛthvī at his feet holding them on her palms. Noteworthy here are the details in the text of the *Viṣṇudharmottara* occurring visually in this figure. The circular crest jewel, *sirahpadmas tathaivāsya kartavyaścārukarṇikaḥ* (3.15.5); the lower garment reaching his knee, *devaśca kaṭivāsena kāryo jānvavalambinā* (3.85.8); the garland *Vanamālā* up to his knee, *vanamālā ca kartavyā devajānvavalambinī* (3.85.9); the full blown lotus in his right hand and a real conch shell in his left hand, *vāmapāṇigataṁ śaṅkhaṁ śaṅkhākāraṁ tu kārayet* (3.85.10); Pṛthvī at his feet and between them, holding them on her palms, *strīrūpadhāriṇī kṣoṇī kāryā tatpādamadhyagā, tatkarasthāṅghriyugalo devaḥ kāryo janārdanaḥ* (3.85.6-7); personified wheel to his left, potbellied, bejewelled and with glaring globular eyes, *vāmabhāgagataścakraḥ kāryo lambodaras tathā, sarvābharaṇasaṁyukto vṛttavisphāritekṣaṇaḥ* (3.85.13), all these specially tally as if one was made for the other. The four faces are the benign, leonine, porcine and of Kapila, *saumyaṁ tu vadanaṁ pūrvaṁ nārasiṁhaṁ tu dakṣiṇam, kāpilaṁ paścimaṁ vaktraṁ tathā vārāham uttaram* (3.44.11-12). In the context of the early date of this metallic sculpture, the reference to the early feature of the circular *maulimaṇi* on the headgear showing the transition from turban to crown in this text is indeed significant.

Metal images of the Cambā school of the eighth century recall to a certain extent earlier Gupta traditions blended with the Kashmiri, Gandhāran and Pratihāra elements. Of some of these images from the Brahmaur temple there is one which is rare and unique. There is only one example known of Narasiṁha of this type. And it is interesting that this form has a special textual reference in the Viṣṇudharmottara. It is a well-known convention that sometimes attributes are not shown in the hands of deities. Their suggestion in hands in the *mudrā* for carrying them is a charming mode. Rāma or Tripurāntaka carry no bow or arrow. Viṇādhara has his hands in the attitude of holding the lute that is never depicted, the lotus or lily is absent in the hand of Devī in the attitude of holding it. In this manner Narasiṁha is seated, on a lion throne , his upper pair of arms lacking the wheel and conch, the lower pair immediately under the chin of the leonine face as if resting on the tip of the handle of the club, *gadā*. The blend of early Gandhāran and Gupta elements in this early medieval sculpture is most obvious. What is most noteworthy here again is the circular *maulimaṇi* on the headgear as in the earlier discussed Viṣṇu. The text of the Viṣṇudharmottara is amazingly close to this unique form; *siṁhāsane sukhāsīnaḥ kāryo vā bhagavān hariḥ, gadāmastakavinyastakaradvitayabhūṣaṇaḥ* (3. 78. 9). When we remember this is the only example of this type, and still has lingering early features, the text becomes all the more significant.

In the early Pallava plaque of the fourth century from Peddamudiyam there are several early forms of deities including the *Śrīvatsa* symbol partially anthropomorphised. In this a band of lotus petals is shown on the head just below the crown. This tradition is continued in other similar but later Pallava representation in metal and stone, the former from Enāḍi and the latter from Kaverīpākkam. The aid to understand this rare feature is again the text of the *Viṣṇudharmottara*, that not only prescribes the representation of a lotus on the head of Śrī, but also explains it as symbolic of *saubhāgya*, the essence of auspiciousness and good fortune : *devyaśca mastake padmam tathā kāryam manoharam, saubhāgyam tad vijānīhi, Viṣṇudharmattara* 3. 82. 8. In another still earlier panel from near Tenāli, there is Lakṣmī almost as she is shown in the Peddamudiyam plague but without the head and with a lotus in its stead.

The description of Varāha in the *Viṣṇudharmottara* is significant. It mentions both the zoomorphic and the therianthropomorphic forms, *nṛvarāho varāho vā kartavyaḥ kṣmāvidhāraṇe*, *Viṣṇudharmottara* 3. 79. 10. The two classical examples, both very early Gupta, the zoomorphic from Eran and the therianthropomorphic from Udayagiri near Bhilsa, are close to the mental image of the author of the *Viṣṇudharmottara* and the text should have inspired the sculptor. We have to remember in this context the presence of Śeṣa personified and in worshipful attitude at the feet of Varāha shown in *ālīḍha* pose with his foot on the hoods, as in Udayagiri, mentioned in the text : *śeṣaścaturbhujaḥ kāryaś cāruratnaphaṇānvitaḥ, sarpabhogaśca kartavyas tathaiva rachitāñjaliḥ, ālīḍhasthānasaṁsthānas tatpṛṣṭhe bhagavān bhavet, Viṣṇudharmottara* 3. 79. 2, 4. The reason for the Udayagiri panel being cited as the one that the text has inspired is easily understood by the description of personified rivers, like Gaṅgā and Yamunā, and specially the ocean, the former in anthropomorphic form, against their stream on their respective vehicles and carrying brimming water pots, and the latter carrying a pot of gems. The ocean is mentioned in plural, and actually, against the ripple-shaped waves of the sea, the princely figure of the ocean is repeated four times at intervals, twice on the back wall and once on each of the side walls of the cave : The text again is significant : *saritāṁ saśarīrāṇāṁ vāhanāni pradarśayet, pūrṇakumbhakaraḥ kāryas tathā namitajānavah, ratnapatrakarāḥ kāryās sāgarā manujottama, samudrāṇāṁ prabhāsthāne salilaṁ tu pradarśayet, Viṣṇudharmottara* 3. 42. 51, 53, 54.

There is a late Sātavāhana and Vākāṭaka tradition of representing two demons shaking the stalk of the lotus on which Buddha is seated. This is seen at Kārlā, Kanheri, Ajaṇṭā and Ellora. This is a Brahmanical motif borrowed in Buddhist context like the *udaremukha* Kabandha from the Rāmāyaṇa introduced in the hosts of Māra attacking Buddha in several Buddhist monuments at Amarāvati, Ajaṇṭā, Sārnāth etc. This has its real context in the Rāmāyaṇa and it does figure in the panel at Prambanam showing Kabandha slain. Kabandha does not, strangely enough, occurs in his proper context anywhere in India, though he occurs even in the second century in a Buddhist context. Similarly Madhu and Kaiṭabha shaking the stalk of the lotus topped by Brahmā does not occur in any of the early Śeṣaśāyi panels. There

is, however, sometimes an approach to this attitude of the demons shaking the lotus stalk as in a medieval Śeṣaśāyi panel in the Kotāḥ Museum. The text of the *Viṣṇudharmottara* however mentions, very significantly, both the demons tugging at the stalk of Brahmā's lotus : *nālalagnau ca kartavyau padmasya madhukaiṭabhau*, *Viṣṇudharmottara* 3. 81. 7. This may have been represented at Bhitargaon where most of the panels are either mutilated almost beyond recognition of their theme or completely lost. The one in the Indian Museum however lacks this feature.

The description of the form of Garuḍa in the *Viṣṇudharmottara* is another significant pointer towards its early date. His nose is like the beak of the owl and the eyes are similarly circular in a globular face. He has distinct wings and human hands but the powerful legs of a hawk : *tārkṣyo marakataprakhyaḥ kauśikākāranāsikaḥ, caturbhujaś tu kartavyo vṛttanetramukhas tathā, gṛdhrorujānucaranaḥ pakṣadvayavibhūṣaṇaḥ*, *Viṣṇudharmottara* 3. 54. 2. 3. This is exactly the form of Garuḍa in Gupta seals and in the copper coins of Chandragupta II. Specially noteworthy are the human arms and bird's legs. Later the legs become completely human. The earlier form of the Kuṣāṇa Garuḍa is that of a bird completely, except for the human ears with *kuṇḍala* decoration, a special feature only in the first two centuries of the Christian era.

A Pāla image of dancing Śiva is styled Narteśvara in the inscription engraved on its pedestal. The earliest images of this type are Gupta, of the fourth-fifth centuries. A classical example is from Nācnā, from Mrs. Pupul Jayakar's collection, graciously presented by her to the National Museum. The term Narteśvara occurs also in early medieval inscriptions in Cambodia. He is variously known as Naṭarāja and Naṭeśa and Āḍavallān or Kūttan in South India, all meaning, no doubt, the best of dancers. But the term Narteśvara is spelt in the *Viṣṇudharmottara* to designate this from : *nṛttenārādhayannāste devaṁ cakragadādharam, nṛtteśvaratvaṁ cāvāpa tuṣṭāva madhusūdanam*, *Viṣṇudharmottara* 3. 34. 22-23. The tradition of Viṣṇu as Śeṣaśāyi watching Śiva dancing is very old and it is intimately associated with the Natarāja-Govindarāja complex in Cidambaram, the home of the Naṭarāja cult itself in South India, and is repeated in famous murals of both Kerala as from Ettumānūr. The term Nṛtteśvara that has been adopted in north

India has its origin in the *Viṣṇudharmottara* text, that also brings together recumbent *Viṣṇu* and dancing Śiva, the one as the creator of the *aṅgaharas*, and the other of rhythmic *nṛtta* with stress on *tāla* and *laya*.

The Sadāśiva aspect of Śiva as described in the *Viṣṇudharmottara* is a very important pointer to the monolithic three-faced Śiva in the central cell at Elephanta and in one of the Vākāṭaka caves at Ellora. The calm and serene central face is Sadyojāta, the face to the right is the terrible visage Aghora, to the left the sweet and charming Vāmadeva and on the rear Tatpuruṣa, respectively representing Śiva, Bhairava, Umā and Nandi, the fifth, too holy to permit cognizance, and of the nature of ether, is invisible. That is how the *caturmukhaliṅga* has its significance as Sadāśiva. It is mentioned by Bāṇa *caturmukhaṁ carācaraguruṁ bhagavantaṁ tryambakam* in the context of Mahaśvetā's worship of Śiva. The *Viṣṇudharmottara* mentions the attributes of each hand, bow and arrow for the central one, fruit and club for Aghora, mirror and lily for Vāmadeva and so forth. This is all so revealing when the monumental figure in the central cell of the Elephanta cave is observed. The *caturmukha* from Nācnā is another noteworthy example.

Dharma is described by Manu as Vṛṣa, *vṛṣo hi bhagavān dharmaḥ*, Manusmṛti 8. 16, with four feet, *tapas*, *jñāna*, *yajña* and *dāna*, which in turn is described by Udayana as in a sad condition of deterioration, dangerously poised on the last remaining leg which is equally impaired : *pūrvaṁ catuṣpād dharma āsīt, tatas tanūyamāne tapasi tripāt, tato mlāyati jñāne dvipāt, samprati tanūyati yajñe danaikapāt, so'pi pādo durāgatādivipādikāśatadūṣito' śraddhāmalakalaṅkitaḥ kāmakrodhādikaṇṭakaśatajarjaraḥ pratyaham apachīyamānavīryatayā itas tatas skhalannivopalabhyate*, *Nyāyakusumāñjali* 2. 3. The *Viṣṇudharmottara* describes this as in anthropomorphic form, four-faced, four-armed and with four legs. Here *jñāna* mentioned by Udayana is replaced by *satya* making up *yajña*, *satya*, *tapas* and *dāna* the four faces of Dharma, the four feet *śruti*, *smṛti*, *sadācāra* and *priyam ātmanaḥ* as the four feet, following Manu who says *vedo'khilo dharmamūlaṁ smṛtiśīle ca tadvidām, ācāraścaiva sādhūnām ātmanas tṛptir eva ca*. A rare representation of Dharma is in the Lucknow Museum and can be dated in about the 9th-10th century. A. D. Undoubtedly the significance of the four legs of Dharma

and the anthropomorphic iconography given in the text is the inspirer of this sculpture, and for aught we know there should be an earlier Gupta representation. Dr. Bloch discovered at Basarh a terracotta seal with legend in Brāhmī *dharmo rakṣati rakṣitaḥ*, a line from the Mahābhārata chosen by a high dignitary as his ideas in the Gupta period This concept and text for it should be taken as an indication of an early date.

The earlist sculpture of Saṅkarṣaṇa and Vāsudeva flanking Ekānaṁśā is of the period of transition from Kuṣāṇa to Gupta The *Viṣṇudharmottara* has an elaborate description of this group which is important. The *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* gives exactly the same description of Ekānaṁśā as in the *Viṣṇudharmottara* : *ekānaṁśā kāryā devī-baladevakṛṣṇayor madhye, kaṭisaṁsthitavāmakarā sarojam itareṇa codvahatī*, *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* 57. 37. In the Pāñcāla Mitra series of coinage, the goddess on the reverse of Bhadraghoṣa's coin is the female deity Bhadrā, in allusion to the name of Bhadraghoṣa, as observed by Allan in his Catalogue of Coins of Ancient India, p. cxvii, 197, and plate. Bhadrā is Subhadrā, same as Ekānaṁśā. The *Viṣṇudharmottara* says : *ekānaṁśāpi kartavyā devī padmakarā tathā, kaṭisthavāmahastā sā madhyasthā rāmakṛṣṇayoḥ* (3. 85. 71-72).

The *Viṣṇudharmottara* suggests the depiction of only eight planets omitting Ketu : *aṣṭau vā tatra kartavyā grahāḥ ketuvivarjitāḥ, sūryaś śūkraḥ kujo rāhus sauriścandro budho guruḥ, krameṇānena kartavyaṁ tatra rājan grahāṣṭakam* (3. 85. 52-53). This is specially interesting as in the Gupta period, and even up the seventh-eighth centuries, Ketu was kept out of the row of *grahas* or planets represented. It is again a pointer to an early date for the *Viṣṇudharmottara*.

Added to this is the evidence of the Vākāṭaka paintings in the Ajaṇṭā caves, that is revealing, when examined in detail with passages in the *Viṣṇudharmottara*, that throw a flood of light on the proper understanding of several technical details in the paintings themselves.

Yet another pointer to the early date of the *Viṣṇudharmottara* is the wholesale absorption of portions of the *Citrasūtra* in the *Çitralakṣaṇa* of the Buddhist *Tanjur*, which as a text on art was

obscure for over sixty years in its German translation, and fortunately is more accessible now for study in its English version. The striking similarity of whole passages, even details of descriptions, classifications, identical phraseology that can be seen through even a translation of the third or fourth remote, is all telling. The English rendering is from the German version of the Tibetan form of the original Sanskrit text that was lost quite long ago. And yet the rendering in each case has been so faithful and literal that the close parallelism between the *Viṣṇudharmottara* and the *Citralakṣaṇa* can be easily established. It is clear from the vast internal evidence in the *Viṣṇudharmottara* to establish its early date. The fact that the *Citralakṣaṇa* is mentioned by Bhaṭṭotpala the commentator of the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* establishes the lower limit of date for this text that has been dovetailed in the Buddhist text. As it is a non-Buddhist text incorporated in discordance with the main text of the Buddhist *Tanjur*, and as it draws its substance from the *Citrasūtra* of the *Viṣṇudharmottara*, this latter should have been sufficiently well known as an early text on painting for the other to arise out of it. All this becomes clear from a careful perusal of the text of the *Citralakṣaṇa*. Bhaṭṭotpala's date 966 A. D. is the later limit of this text. It may possibly be a couple of centuries earlier but in any case much later than the *Viṣṇudharmottara*. The borrowal of one from the other reminds one of the similar verbatim copy of the seventeenth century Śivatatvaratnākara from the twelfth century *Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi*.

The *Citralakṣaṇa* from the Tibetan *Tanjur* translated by Berthold Laufer into German over sixty years ago is now available in an English translation by B. N. Goswamy and Dahmen-Dallapicolla. The original of this in Sanskrit having been lost long ago, the reference to it by Bhaṭṭotpala in his commentary on the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* could not make it any better known. Even when its German version was made available, it was very little known except to a few as a fairly early text on Indian art. The English rendering of it has enabled it to be studied and understood better.

The text commences with a salutation to Brahmanical deities like Śiva, Viṣṇu and Brahmā, Pārvati, Kamalā, Sarasvat , Indra, Sūrya, Varuṇa, Vāyu, Agni, Prajāpati and Viśvakarmā,

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and is quite an incongruous addition in the Buddhist *Tanjur*. The only justification for its inclusion in this text, as Dr. Goswamy puts it, is that in the absence of any other Buddhist work on painting the Buddhists readily incorporated it in their book. But it was included without camouflaging it and destroying its non-Buddhist character.

The text, however, on close examination turns out to be very close to the *Viṣṇudharmottara* of which it is almost a verbatim copy, with this difference, that the origin of painting here is a different legend from the one in the *Viṣṇudharmottara*, while the main principles on the mode of *citra* that the king learnt from Brahmā are a copy of a portion of the *Citrasūtra* of the *Viṣṇudharmottara*. The *Citralakṣaṇa* gives only the proportions and measurements of *mahāpuruṣas* and the classification of major types like Haṁsa, Bhadra, Mālavya, Rucaka and Śaśaka. Since the Sanskrit text is lost the terms used are reconstructed from the Tibetan. The word Sādhu given for a saint could be Haṁsa, the word in the *Viṣṇudharmottara* also meaning a saintly one. Balin is probably Bhadra. Mālava is the same as Mālavya of the *Viṣṇudharmottara*. Vyañjana and Giridhara are to be equated with Śaśaka and Rucaka. Their diminishing proportions in their order are 108 digits for the highest, the Cakravartin, 106 for the Sādhu, i. e., two digits shorter, 104 for the Mālava, i. e., four digits shorter, 100 for the Vyañjana, i. e., eight digits shorter, and 98 for the Giridhara, i. e., ten digits shorter (*Citralakṣaṇa* p. 81 and 105). This may be compared with *śatam aṣṭādhikaṁ bhavet*, *ṣaḍuttaram*, *caturbhir adhikam śatam*, *daśonam* in the *Viṣṇudharmottara* text (3. 35. 9-11).

The special detail of the measure, their own respective *aṅgula* (*svenaivāṅgulimānena śatam aṣṭādhikaṁ bhavet*, *Viṣṇudharmottara* 3. 35. 9) is repeated in the *Citralakṣaṇa* 'it should amount to 108 digits according to the measurements of his own finger' (p. 81). The calculation of *aṇu kalā*, *yava*, *aṅgula* though defined in the *Citralakṣaṇa* is taken as understood in the *Viṣṇudharmottara* as in other Śilpa texts. The elaborate proportions in *aṅgulas* of the forehead, face, nose, lips, chin, ear, eye, neck, chest, abdomen, waist, thigh, shank, foot, toes and fingers, the *tālamāna* and all the other details given in both the texts are particularly identical.

The classification of the eyes into *cāpākṛti*, *matsyodara*, *utpalapatrābha*, *padmapatranibha* and *śaṅkhākṛti* with measurements is given here exactly as in the *Viṣṇudharmottara* as well as the use of each in its context, *cāpākṛti* for the sight in yoga meditation, *matsyodara* for women and lovers, *utpalapatrābha* for normal ordinary individuals, *padmapatranibha* for the frightened and crying, and *śaṅkhākṛti* for the angered and pain-tormented (*Citralakṣaṇa* p. 84). It is a verbatim narration again of the description of the eyes as well, as for instance the eyes like *utpala* are red at the corners with black shining pupils, the lashes long-pointed and pleasing, soft and delicate in lustre; and when painted for the gods would increase the prosperity of all beings. It can be seen how the text of the *Viṣṇudharmottara* exactly answers the translation of the *Citralakṣaṇa* amazingly. One has only to read *cāpākāraṁ bhavennetraṁ yogabhūminirīkṣaṇāt, matsyodarākṛiti kāryaṁ nārīṇāṁ kāmināṁ tathā, netram utpalapatrābhāṁ nirvikārasya śasyate, trastasya rudataścaiva padmapatranibhaṁ bhavet, kruddhasya vedanārtasya netraṁ śaṅkhākṛti bhavet* (*Viṣṇudharmottata* 3. 37. 12-15) and *netram utpalapatrābhaṁ raktāntaṁ kṛṣnatārakam, prasannaṁ dīrghapakṣmāntaṁ manojñam mṛdusattamam, devatānāṁ kṛtam rājan prajāhitakaraṁ bhavet, same gokṣīravarṇābhe snigdhe jihmāgrapakṣmale, prasanne padmanetrānte manojñe priyadarśane, kṛṣṇatāre viśāle ca nayane śrīsukhaprade* (*Viṣṇudharmottara* 3. 38. 1-3) against the translation of the *Citralakṣaṇa* 'That which relates to the eyes of Kings, their length and width has already been described. In the case of Yogis, their eyes, bespeaking of equanimity, should be made to resemble a bow made of bamboo. In the case of women and lovers should be made eyes that resemble the belly of a fish. In the case of ordinary persons, eyes that resemble an *utpala* should be adopted. It is laid down that to express fright and crying, eyes resembling the petal of a *padma* lotus should be used. The eyes of those troubled by anger and grief should be painted resembling a cowrie shell. Eyes resembling an *utpala* petal are red at the corners, the pupils are black and shiny, the lashes have long points and are pleasing with the lustre of their colour appearing in soft tones. When one has painted the eyes of the Gods, the well being of the kings and of all beings shall increase. (The eyes of the Gods) are lustrous and rich like the colour of cow's milk, having lashes devoid of coarseness, resplendent like a

petal of a *padma* lotus and constantly changing in their play of colours because of the blueness of the conjunctiva, with pupils black and large; the painting of eyes such as these brings riches and good fortune' (*Citralakṣaṇa* p. 84).

The description of celestial faces (*Citralakṣaṇa* p. 86) as squarish, beautifully full, endowed with brilliant and pleasing marks, neither triangular nor sloping, neither angry nor round is just a translation of the Sanskrit text of the *Citrasūtra*, *chaturasraṁ susampūrṇaṁ prasannaṁ śubhalakṣaṇam, atrikoṇam avakraṁ cākruddhāvṛttaṁ mukham bhavet, dīrghamaṇḍalavakrāṇi trikoṇādīni yāni ca, varjyāni tāni devānāṁ prajāsu śivaṁ icchatā* (*Viṣṇudharmottara* 3. 38. 4-5).

Again, the description of the three-fold lines on the palms, deep and fine and of the colour of the blood of the hare, webbed fingers and toes (*jālapādakara* and *jālāṅguli*) and other *mahāpuruṣalakṣaṇas* are all repeated in such a way that the Sanskrit *jālapādakarāḥ kāryas tathā vai cakravartinaḥ, rekhāśca karayoḥ kāryās tisro rājñāṁ manoharāḥ, śaśakṣatajasaṅkāśās śastā vai kṣāmakoṭikāḥ*, of the *Viṣṇudharmottara* (3. 37. 5-6) exactly answers the translation of the *Citralakṣaṇa* (p. 92).

Similarly the division of hair into varieties of *kuntala, dakṣiṇāvarta, taraṅga, siṁhakesara, vardhara* and *jūṭaṭasara* is verbatim repeated with a description of the characteristics of each (*Citralakṣaṇa* p. 98).

The idea of good fortune arriving in the trail of painting divine countenance, eyes and face according to injunctions is expressed identically in both the texts. The line 'when one has painted the eyes of the Gods, the well being of the Kings and of all beings shall increase' (*Citralakṣaṇa* p. 84) and he who has painted such a face shall always gain earthly rewards (*Citralakṣaṇa* p. 86) is answered in the Sanskrit text *devatānāṁ kṛtaṁ rājan prajāhitakaram bhavet* and *prajāsu śivam icchatā*, *Viṣṇudharmottar* 3.38.2,5.

But even more startling is the praise of the art of painting as given in the *Viṣṇudharmottara* repeated in the *Citralakṣaṇa*. The *Viṣṇudharmottara* proclaims that as the Mount Sumeru is the preeminent among mountains, as Garuḍa is the best among the birds, as the ruler is the foremost among men, so is painting the fore-

most among arts; *yathā sumeruḥ pravaro nagānāṁ yathāṇḍajānāṁ garuḍaḥ pradhānaḥ, yathā janānāṁ pravaraḥ kṣitīśas tathā kalānām iha citrakalpaḥ, Viṣṇudharmottara* 3. 43. 39, while the *Citralakṣaṇa* first repeats this verbatim and then with a few more additions gives it an elaboration : 'Just as the most excellent among mountains is Sumeru, and just as he who soars heavenward (Garuḍa) is the first among the egg-born, just as the king is the first among human beings, so is painting among the skills. . . Just as Sumeru is the foremost among mountains, just as the Gaṅgā is the foremost among rivers, and just as the Sun is the foremost among the planets, just as the King of the birds (Garuḍa) soars heavenwards, just as Indra is first among the Gods, so is painting the foremost among skills' (*Citralakṣaṇa* p. 73).

Thus, the cummulative evidence gathered from various points of view, including the internal evidence from the description of iconography, compared with the extant sculptures representing the various deities, is all in favour of an early date of transition from Kuṣāṇa to Gupta with Kuṣāṇa features still lingering in sculptural renderings of textual descriptions.*

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* Diacritical marks given in this article are in accordance with the scheme adopted by the International Congress of Orientalists at Athens in 1912.

THE BHĀGAVATA PURĀṆA : SĀṀKHYA AT THE SERVICE OF NON-DUALISM

By

Daniel P. Sheridan

The *BhP* of all the Purāṇas is the most unified.[1] Written in the ninth century A. D. in South India, it became the authoritative Scripture for several Vaiṣṇava sects. As such it fitted the theological needs of later centuries. However, because Śaṁkara's *māyā* doctrine obscured the difference-in-identity context of early Vaiṣṇava Vedānta and Sāṁkhya, and because Iśvarakṛṣṇa's *Sāṁkhya Kārikās* coopted the name Sāṁkhya, the Sāṁkhya of the *BhP* needs to be studied in its original import, not through the secondary sources of the sectarian commentaries.[2]

The *BhP* is a combination of Vedāntic non-dualism and Vaiṣṇava devotionalism. It apparently was not influenced by Śaṁkara's absolute non-dualism. Instead it represents a non-dualism which accomodates the reality of the universe and of individual selves in it within the all-encompassing reality of Brahman. Brahman by means of his creative energy (*māyā*) has evolved the universe from his own reality. It never ceases to be of his own substance and returns eventually to its source in Brahman.

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1. The *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (cited as *BhP*) was redacted around the end of the 9th century A. D. The writing of the *BhP* was probably done within a group of learned ascetics, probably Brahmans, who, while remaining steadfast to their tradition of devotion to Kṛṣṇa, were attempting to legitimize that devotion within the broader Hindu tradition. The *BhP* takes the form of a dialogue between Vyāsa and Nārada related by Śuka to Sūta. The redactor s choice of Purāṇic genre indicates that the narration of Kṛṣṇa's life was important while at the same time the genre enable him to collate complex traditions. It also indicates that the teaching had not yet reached the stage where a systematics was possible, for example, as in commentary on the *Brahma Sūtras*. The *BhP* was later the primary scripture for such theologians as Madhva, Vallabha, and the school of Caitanya.
2. The first extant commentary is by Śrīdhara, a follower of Śaṁkara

In order to explain and corroborate this non-dualism which maintains the reality of the universe, the BhP relies on a form of Purāṇic Sāṁkhya. There is one *puruṣa* which is Brahman evolving the universe. From it *prakṛti* evolves all subsequent evolutes. The individual self in this context is a specification of the one puruṣa within the sphere of the evolutes. The *BhP* uses the Sāṁkhya doctrine of *satkārya*, the presence of the cause in the effect and the effect in the cause to assert that Brahman is the 'material' cause of the universe and of the individual selves. Thus the *BhP*'s non-dualism served by its Sāṁkhya is a difference-in-identity of non-dualism.

The *BhP* describes two forms of devotion. In its discourses it draws upon a conservative form of devotion. This is heavily influenced by the path of knowledge and by yogic discipline. Its primary characteristic is a meditation which results in the absorption of the devotee within the non-duality of Bhagavān. This form of devotion strengthens the identity pole of the *BhP*'s difference-in-identity non-dualism.

The second form of devotion is innovative and occurs within its narrative passages, especially in the tenth canto. Devotion here is ecstatic, emotional, and erotic. The paradigmatic devotees are the cowherd girls with whom Bhagavān Kṛṣṇa frolics in Vṛndāvana. The highest form of their devotion to Kṛṣṇa is not union but separation following union. Thus this form of devotion strengthens the difference pole of the difference-in-identity non-dualism.

The bridge between the two poles is the *BhP*'s Sāṃkhya which affirms the transcendance of Brahman, the immanence of Brahman in his evolutes, and with characteristics realism the reality of those evolutes. Thus Sāṃkhya serves and supports a difference-in-identity non-dualism.

I. Non-Dualism

An investigation of the teaching of the *BhP* about non-dualism is complicated by several factors, not the least of which is the nature of the Purāṇic genre, which by its inclusivity introduces differing names and terms for the Absolute, each with its own connotations. The *BhP* usually relies on the variegated Vedāntic

vocabulary, but in addition it often uses a Sāṃkhya terminology. There is no doubt of the *BhP*'s non-dualist emphasis, yet its precise import and meaning are not immediately clear. S. Dasgupta, perhaps too hastily, remarks that "as regards the position of God and His relation to the world the outlook of the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* is rather ambiguous."[3] Non-dualism is prescribed differently of different subjects : Brahman, Ātman, Puruṣa, Bhagavān, etc. Yet through this apparent lack of clarity it is possible to perceive a single import. The *BhP* itself states that it was written "for the sole purpose of the tenth," that is, *āśraya*.[4] *Āśraya* means : that on which anything rests, or depends, or the person or thing in which any quality is inherent, an asylum, refuge, source or origin. In this context *āśraya* is a synonym for Brahman or Bhagavān : "That from which there is the appearance, maintenance, and destruction (of the universe), he is called the Highest Brahman and the Highest Self."[5] An examination of similar passages about non-dualism shows that there is a complex teaching that Brahman Ātman, Puruṣa, Bhagavān, etc., are non-dual. The question naturally arises : if the same quality is ascribed to these different subjects, are they identical ? If not, is there a consistent sense or pattern in the ascription ? Further, what ramifications does the perception or deduction of non-duality have for the apparent duality of God and the world, of the individual self and the Highest Self ?

The *BhP* in several passages indicates that non-dualism means that there is only one real existent. In the course of a lengthy discourse by Brahmā, who is the first created being derived from the Supreme Being, to Nārada, Brahmā sums up his insight into Bhagavān : "The Bhagavān, all-creating, has been explained to you, my son; in brief, there is no other thing than Hari, neither actual nor potential."[6] In a context describing the

3. Surendranath Dasgupta, *A History of Indian Philosophy*, IV (Cambridge : at the University Press, 1948) p. 18.
4. The translation is in many instances mine and in others is an adaptation of that by C. L. Goswami and M. A Sastri. This and all following references to the *BhP* will be by number alone, canto, chapter, verse. II, 10, 2a.
5. I, 5, 13.
6. II, 7, 50.

creation of the world and the various manifestations of God within it, Brahmā affirms Hari's all-pervading singleness, outside of him there is nothing. If there is anything, its reality must be derived or exist within the greater reality of God. Again in an address to Brahmā, at the beginning of creation, when only Brahmā had yet been created, Viṣṇu told him : "I only existed, Supreme, there was no other who as actual or potential was in the beginning; at the end I, who am all this, will remain; I am this."[7] In this context Viṣṇu's existence is placed within a temporal sequence of sole existence, creation, maintenance, destruction, and then sole existence again.

In the third canto the sequence of creation is described in a discussion between Vidura and Maitreya. Brahmā, after a hundred years of intense meditation, addresses Viṣṇu : "You have today become known to me after a long time. There is nothing but you, O God, nor is anything else pure; you appear vast because of the union of the qualities by your creative energy."[8] Here there is a sense of simultaneity of Viṣṇu, of his first created Brahmā, and also of that which is yet to be created. Again the created order is identified within the sole existent : "you are vast." The cause of plurality is God's creative energy which introduces it into the sole existent.

In canto six, Janārdana (Kṛṣṇa) revealed his form as the Supreme person to another subordinate creator, Dakṣa : "Asceticism is my heart, worship is my body, activity is my wisdom, sacrifices well-performed are the members of my body, the merit resulting from such sacrifices is my mind, and the gods are my vital airs."[9] Here the only existent Self is described in moral terms. Before the creation he was the only existent in a state of inactivity : "There was nothing else inside or outside. I consisted of consciousness and was unmanifest, deep sleep as it were was everywhere."[10] The one existent is a person, made up only of consciousness (*saṁjñāna*), who kept back in an unmanifest state his infinite possibilities in a deep sleep. The activities and religious duties of embodied beings go on in some unmanifested,

7. II, 9, 32.
8. III, 9, 1.
9. VI, 4, 46.
10. VI, 4, 47.

transcendental state within this eternal Person. This non-dual Person has unbounded possibilities for plurality.

Thus non-duality does not mean that the sole existent being cancels out plurality. The *BhP* has many passages in which non-duality is described as within the sphere of plural forms. In the seventh canto Nārada tells Yudiṣṭhira that not only those who love Bhagavān attain him but also those who hate him. This follows from the fact that the non-dual dwells within every creature as its inner Self. Nārada says that if Bhagavān is one without a second, how then can the Supreme be violent or chastise his foes? The answer: the mind should be fixed on him who is not other than oneself, thus love and hatred both bring about the same result.[11] This is further illustrated in canto three in a Sāṁkhya text which describes the non-duality of the one and the many as a reflection of being in non-being: "He discovers that the mark of what is liberated is the reflection of the existent in the non-existent; the bond of the existent is the eye which sees the non-existent; sewed into everything is the non-dual."[12] The non-dual existent is within all that is relatively non-existent in order to provide a basis for liberation. The Lord sees his own reflection in the non-existent and because it is his reflection he is bound to it. Though non-dual, he is 'sewed' together with all that is many. Thus the many is only relatively non-existent.

A similar text is Hiraṇyakaśipu's eulogy of Brahmā in canto three. This text is a little unusual for the *BhP* in that it treats Brahmā, who is the first created being and who in turn is the creator of all subsequent creation, as synonimous with the Supreme Deity. Brahmā, rather than being an autonomous creation, is considered as that aspect of the Deity which is creative: "You are the immutable Self occupying the highest place, unborn, all-pervading, the living Self of the individual self and of the world."[13] As the Highest Self Brahmā pervades everything, the chain of causes can be traced back to him and

11. cf. VII, 1, 26.
12. III, 27, 11.
13. VII, 3, 31b.

thus nothing can be said to be totally distinct from him : "There is nothing other than you, cause or effect, mobile or immobile; the sciences and their branches are your bodies, you are the golden womb of the universe, the great Viṣṇu."[14]

Nārada in his conversation with Yudiṣṭhira demonstrates how a reflection on non-difference yields three different aspects of non-dualism :

> The sage shaking off the three dreams through understanding himself meditates on the non-duality of thought (*bhāvādvaitam*), the non-duality of action (*kriyādvaitam*) and the non-duality of substance (*dravyādvaitam*).
>
> Examining the substantial unity of cause and effect, as in the weaving of cloth, since their diversity is unreal--this is called the non-duality of thought.
>
> Presenting all of one's actions of mind, speech, and body, directly to the Highest Brahman—this is called the non-duality of action.
>
> Identifying one's own interests and desires with that of one's wife, children, etc. and of all other embodied beings—this is called the non-duality of substance.[15]

Here in this marvellous summary of Vedāntic teaching, the *BhP* grounds its teaching concerning different kinds of actions in an ever-deepening insight into non-duality. The surrender of the fruits of one's action, the discarding of the duality of injunctions and prohibitions, is called *kriyādvaita*. When this has been achieved, the non-duality of substance becomes possible, an altruism which destroys the dichotomy between 'I' and 'mine' and the rest of the world. These two modes of non-duality are ultimately resolved in the non-duality of thought in which the dichotomy between the single Cause and the world of plurality is dissolved in a vision of non-differenced unity.

But what is this non-differenced, non-dual reality ? In certain passages the *BhP* says that it is knowledge or consciousness itself. Thus in the first canto where the program of the *BhP* is being laid out, Sūta replies to the questions of the sages by

14. VII, 3, 32.
15. VII, 15, 62-64.

pointing out that "the end of life is inquiry into reality . . . Learned men who know reality say that it is non-dual knowledge; it is called Brahman, the Highest Self, and Bhagavān."[16] The non-duality of reality is such that no ultimate distinction between knower and knowledge can be made, although by giving the absolute reality different names, the *BhP* affirms that the richness of absolute reality cannot be exhausted by considering it from one angle only. The *BhP* draws on various traditions to aid the understanding. The terms 'Brahman' and 'Highest Self' are drawn from Vedānta, while 'Bhagavān' is dear to the Vaiṣṇavas. The final position given to Bhagavān seems to raise it above the other two in importance, and this is borne out by the Purāṇa as a whole. Thus non-dual knowledge, which is the essence of the absolute reality, is, according to the *BhP*, ultimately personal.

Again, when Brahmā recites the primordial *BhP* in the second canto to Nārada, he asserts that the Puruṣa is "Pure, absolute knowledge, determined individually and wholly, the truth, abundance, beginningless, and endless, without qualities, eternal, and non-dual."[17] The personal nature of absolute reality and its non-duality are affirmed along with its identity with absolute knowledge.

The last passage refers to the non-dual as 'without qualities'. There are any number of passages in the *BhP* in which non-dualism is coupled with terms such as nirguṇa, aguṇa, arūpa etc. The question arises whether these can be taken in the sense of Śaṁkara's concept of nirguṇa Brahman. According to T. S. Rukmani, "the philosophic teaching of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* stands nearer to Śaṁkara's system than to the theistic Sāṁkhya which dominates the other Purāṇic works."[8] However, an examination of passages which use these terms will reveal that they have a different import than Śaṁkara's nirguṇa Brahman.

Where Puruṣa and Ātman are described as 'without qualities' both occur in contexts in which the Supreme Deity, whether as

16. I, 2, 106-111.
17. II, 6, 39.
18. T. S. Rukmani, *A Critical Study of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, Chowkhamba Sanskrit Studies, Vol LXXVII, Varanasi : Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office, 1970, p. 4.

Puruṣa or as Kṛṣṇa, is engaged with a universe dependent upon him. This association of what is without qualities with what has qualities is characteristic of the non-dualism of the *BhP.* For example in canto one, Sūta says that "this form of Bhagavān, who indeed has no form, consisting of consciousness, is fashioned in the Self through the qualities of his creative energy, the Great Principle, etc."[19] He who has no form is capable of assuming form for his own conscious purposes. The lack of form is related to his essential nature as consciousness, which is untouched ultimately by his own work of creation. Further a Sāṃkhya scheme of creation-emanation is implied in the use of the concepts of 'creative energy' (*māyā*) and the 'Great Principle' (*mahat*). The qualities (*guṇas*) are the immanent constituents, though noumenal, of the created universe, and by definition are not related to the essence of the Absolute. The qualities are used by the Absolute's creative energy: "The three qualities . . . have been accepted by the creative energy of the Lord, who is without qualities, for the maintence, creation, and destruction (of the universe)."[20]

It is by no means insignificant that the opening verse of the *BhP* relates the absolute reality, Brahman, to creation. Here, in what S. Dasgupta calls "probably the most important passage in the *Bhāgavata*,"[21] the highest truth is indissolubly linked to the phenomenal world of creation, which is described as 'not false' *(amṛṣā) :*

> The Self-luminous who knows all by union and by difference, from when is the creation, etc. of this universe, who revealed to the heart of the First Sage (Brahmā) the *Vedas*, about whom the sages are confused, whose creation of the qualities is not false wherever there is the transformation into, for instance, fire, water, earth—I meditate (on Him) the Highest Truth, by his own strength free from deception.[22]

Although this verse has been interpreted to mean that creation through the three qualities is false, it may mean the opposite.

19. I, 3, 30.
20. II, 5, 18.
21. Dasgupta, *A History of Indian Philosophy*, IV, 33.
22. I, 1, 1.

Since the Lord is Self-luminous (*svarāṭ*) and free from deception, creation has reality from his reality. As Sūta tells the sages : "Just as fire permeated pieces of wood, so the Person, one, the Self of all, shines on all beings distinctly as their source."[23] As the source of everything that is, Person permeates all things as their inner Self.

The *BhP*'s non-dualism in these creation passages sometimes equates, while immediately qualifying that equation, the universe with Bhagavān, who is "indeed the universe, yet different from it; from him is the creation, destruction, and maintenance of the world."[24] In canto eight, Śiva praised Hari for being "the Lord of the world who pervades and constitutes the world, the controller, the cause and the Self of all beings . . . from which is the beginning middle, and end of this universe, the ego and the other (the self), which are outside but which cannot be changed."[25] It is as if the *Bhāgavata* were searching for metaphors and concepts to describe its ineffable vision of the relation of the Absolute with the created world. Thus here there is a non-duality of Brahman, who is truth and consciousness, and that which is other, the universe and the individual self.

One of the most celebrated passages of the *BhP* is in canto ten, where Yaśodā reprimands the child Kṛṣṇa for eating dirt while at play. Kṛṣṇa says that he had not eaten dirt and opened his mouth to show his mother. Inside she saw the entire universe, the mountains, oceans, the heavens, stars, and lightning. She saw not only the material world, but also the psychic world, the senses, the mind, the objects of the senses, and the three qualities. "At the same time she saw in his wide open mouth the variegated universe, divided into individual selves, time, their inherent tendency and inherited destiny, the seed of action, along with Vraja and herself, and she was seized with terror".[26] She realized that her son was the Lord. He then "cast the creative energy of Viṣṇu so that she again felt affection for her son."[27]

23. I, 2, 32.
24. I, 5, 20a.
25. VIII, 12, 4-5.
26. X, 8, 39.
27. X, 8, 436.

She lost her knowledge of the Self and took her son on her lap. Such is the awesome lordship of Bhagavān, the awesome knowledge of the great mystery of Bhagavān's relationship to the universe, that mere mortals may not bear to know of it casually.

Thus the *BhP* illustrates the ineffable non-duality of Kṛṣṇa, who is beyond the qualities, yet as their source, possesses them within himself. He is both nirguṇa, without qualities, and saguṇa, with qualities. This non-duality is usually just asserted and apparently contradictory statements are juxtaposed paradoxically. The mere mortal, such as Ya odā, is stricken with terror at the immense mystery of the Lord's nature, which creates multiplicity within his unity.

The non-duality of Bhagavān with the universe and the individual self is not the non-dualism without qualities (*nirviśeṣā-dvaita* or *abhedavāda*) of Śaṁkara. The *BhP*'s teaching is a non-dualism compatible with a plurality of beings and individual selves. At the end of canto ten there is a chapter which deals directly with this relationship. Parīkṣit wonders how the Scripture immersed in and dealing with the qualities can then know about a God who is indefinable, without qualities, and beyond cause and effect. Sūta in reply asserts that the creation is indeed from Bhagavān, however transcendent he may be. He created so that the individuals so evolved may delight in his creation and at the same time return to him in liberation. Ignorance, paradoxically, is beginningless and has assumed the qualities for an evil purpose. But Bhagavān, although transcendant, has many divine attributes. Therefore, "the Veda is able to describe you when you sport or when you exist absolutely."[28] There is delusion, no doubt ultimately derived from Bhagavān himself, which regards the qualities as not derived from Bhagavān. But the qualities of the universe, which are described in the Scripture, can only point to Bhagavān, whether in an exterior manifested state or in an interior unmanifested state : "The wise recognize this known universe as you, because you always persist and because it is from and into what is unchanged that the universe emanates and returns."[29] Therefore words can describe and the mind can

28. X, 87, 14.
29. X, 87, 15.

know the transcendent Bhagavān since everything is Brahman and anything that can exist even for a time is part of him. Whatever can be thought or spoken refers to him.

Although he is the ultimate reality, who is without difference (*abheda*), the Brahman evolves from himself and enters into the categories of creation and becomes differentiated. What is more, Brahman has become personal within the created universe in order to show mortals the truth of that creation. The microscosm is like the macrocosm, one, undivided, and personal : "... your manifestations have revealed the truth about your Self, which is difficult to realize."[30] The reality of the universe is relative to the reality of the Self : "The knowers of the Self by means of the Self recognize this universe as real; just as those in quest of gold do not reject its modifications because it is still gold, so is the universe concluded to be the very Self in as much as it is evolved and pervaded by the Self."[31] Both the individual self and the universe are identical because both have their source in the Highest Self. The mind can "penetrate to Brahman, even though he is without qualities and indefinable."[32] Non-duality is the import of the *BhP*, yet the universe is not thereby unreal. Both the universe and the individual self have a degree of reality derived from Brahman with whom they are not different. It may be that the redactor of the *BhP* was unable to present a clear scholastic understanding of this paradox, as the later Vaiṣṇava ācāryas were to attempt. Nonetheless, he knew what his faith was and held firmly to its paradoxes.

II. The Sāṁkhya of the *BhP*

The *BhP*, in addition to its basic use of Upaniṣadic language, also employs the terminology of Sāṁkhya. Both Sāṁkhya and Vedānta have their roots in the Upaniṣads. The main thrust of both was the insight of non-dualism. With the passage of time the tradition of Sāṁkya took a dualistic and non-theistic, if not atheistic, turn, in the Sāṁkya of Īśvarakṛṣṇa. The Vaiṣṇava Purāṇas developed a Sāṁkhya which was theistic and compatible

30. X, 87, 21a.
31. X, 87, 26.
32. X, 87, 49b.

with the Vedāntic non-dualism of Brahman and the world and of the Highest Self and the individual self. In the *BhP* the Purāṇic Sāṁkhya is correlative to and corroborative of non-dualism. As investigation of its Sāṁkhya passages re-enforces the conclusion that the non-dualism of the *BhP* is able to accomodate the pluralism of the world and of the individual selves.

Kapila, the legendary founder of the Sāṁkhya school, is in the *BhP* a descent of Bhagavān, who was born into the house of Kardama in order to found the Sāṁkhya system. "My present birth in this world is meant only for expounding the true nature of the categories (*tattvas*) which are helpful for those who seek release from their subtle bodies."[33] The intent of the redactor of the *BhP* is obviously to re-enforce his teaching by appeal to the traditional authority of the Kapila Sāṁkhya. Even though Sāṁkhya terminology is found throughout the *BhP*, Sāṁkhya itself is presented as a special revelation by Kapila to his mother Devahūtī in canto three and by Kṛṣṇa to Uddhava in canto eleven.

Sāṁkhya is both a cosmology and a psychology. It traces from a single principle the evolution of the entire universe and of the consciousness of the individual person. In the *BhP* that single principle is Brahman : "(1) The material cause of this (universe), the primal nature (prakṛti), (2) he who presides over, the Highest Person, and (3) that which reveals its being, Time— these three are indeed I, Brahman."[34] Brahman or Bhagavān by his own power creates all beings within his Self, without being changed in any way, just as a spider spins a web out of its own substance and then plays with it. In the beginning he was alone beyond the immanent constituent qualities. All potentiality was submerged within him in a latent equilibrium. Intent on becoming many, Bhagavān by means of of his creative energy brought forth from his own being time, the inherited destiny of creatures (*karma*), and their innate essence (*svabhāva*). These had formerly been manifest but had become latent and now were again approaching manifestation. These innate principles enable Bhagavān to reflect his unity in the

33. III, 24, 36.
34. XI, 24, 19.

plurality of other beings. "The peculiarity of the *Bhāgavata*", according to A. Sen Gupta, "lies in the fact that here the supreme self, on its own initiative, has reflected itself in Māyā and thus fallen under the influence of its own power."[35] This is not the case in the classical Sāṁkhya where the motive for creation is inherent in primal nature and not in a transcedent reality.

The two versions of Sāṁkhya have much in common, yet also have significant differences. According to the *BhP*, the first emergent category is the primal nature from which evolves the great principle (*mahat*) which contains within itself the germ of the entire universe. The great principle has a nature of pure being and intelligence adequate for the entire cosmos. The great principle of the *BhP* is not the intellect of Īśvarakṛṣṇa's classical Sāṃkhya where it is the source for the bondage of the individual spirit nor does the evolution of the great principle occur because of the presence of unbound individual spirits as in Īśvarakṛṣṇa. Rather the great principle of the *BhP* is the cosmic intelligence (*citta*) of the cosmic Person (*puruṣa*) : "From this unmanifest (=*prakṛti*), impelled by time, was evolved the great principle, which, since it dispells inertia (*tamas*), has a nature of intelligence (*vijñāna*) and is capable of manifesting the universe which exists within itself."[36] In the *BhP*, in contrast to Īśvarakṛṣṇa, the phenomenal mind is a function of the individual self and is an evolute of the 'active' ego (*rājasa ahaṁkāra*).

From the great principle the three-fold ego (*ahaṁkāra*) evolves, the source of 'I' and 'mine'. The three forms of the ego are the 'knowing' ego (*sāttvika*), the 'active' ego (*rājasa*), and the 'inertial' ego (*tāmasa*). From the 'knowing' ego arises the mind (*manas*), "whose thoughts and reflections give rise to desires."[37] The mind is directive, supervising and motivating the senses. From the 'active' ego the phenomenal mind (*buddhi*) arises, which is a collective term for the functioning of the cognitive (*jñāna*) and the conative (*karma*) senses (*indriya*). The phenomenal mind is characterized by doubt, misapprehension, correct apprehension, memory

35. Anima Sen Gupta, *The Evolution of the* Sāmkhya *School of Thought* (Patna : Pioneer Press, 1959), p. 98.

36. III, 5, 27.

37. III, 26, 27b.

and sleep. From the 'inertial' ego, the subtle elements (*tanmātras*) and the gross elements (*bhūtas*) arise. In classical Sāṁkhya the 'active' ego activates and coordinates the other two phases of the ego. It has no evolutes of its own. In the *BhP*'s scheme of evolution, each phase of the ego has its own particular evolutes. Thus the evolution of the categories from the great principle down to the gross elements encompasses all of manifest reality, both material and psychic.

In canto eleven, the *BhP* acknowledges the existence of several schools of Sāṁkhya which enumerate the categories differently. Ironically the *BhP* accepts each of these schools by declaring that there was no real difference among the several accounts. Since cause and effect are substantially identical in a Sāṁkhya system, different ways of enumerating the categories are possible. If one considers that the puruṣa, under the influence of ignorance, cannot attain liberation by its own effort, he may then affirm the need for a Supreme Person, a higher spiritual principle, and will number twenty-six categories instead of twenty-five. Therefore the *BhP* accepts "as conclusive whatever is stated according to one's viewpoint . . . there being cogent reason behind every assertion."[38]

It is important to remember that the evolution of the categories, according to the *BhP*, takes place at the start of a cosmic cycle which proceeds to dissolution. This dissolution, or devolution, is also described in terms of the categories. The gross elements revert to the subtle elements, which in turn revert to the 'inertial' ego. Similarly the cognitive and conative senses revert to the 'active' ego, and the mind reverts to the 'knowing' ego. Both the material and the psychic realms, which are functions of each other, devolve to a state of latency in the great principle at the same time. "The great principle is reduced to its causes the immanent constituent qualities. They are dissolved in the unmanifest (*parkṛti*) and the unmanifest is merged in time (*kāla*), which has ceased to operate."[39] Time reverts to the cosmic Person, who rules by means of his creative energy. Finally everything is merged into the Self, who stands alone.

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38. XI, 22, 9.
39. XI, 24, 26.

Contrary to Īśvarakṛṣṇa's Sāṁkhya where there are many spirits, in the *Bhp* there is only one Person (*puruṣa*), who is Supreme, "no other that the Self, who is beginningless, without qualities, and beyond primal nature."[40] In this Sāṁkhya scheme of non-dualism, the puruṣa is that aspect of Bhagavān which transcends primal nature and is without qualities, yet ensouls primal nature and all its evolutes. He does this of his own free will in a sportful manner. In one sense, the Person is ensnared by the possibilities of primal nature, whose charms obscure his consciousness so that he becomes many individual spirits. God, as it were, while remaining beyond his creation, chooses to be evolved into it, and to have his single essence obscured by multiplicity. The Person is therefore not on an equal level with primal nature, divided by a dualistic abyss, as in classical Sāṁkhya, but as a higher form of Bhagavān possesses primal nature, which is thus not an independent principle. Primal nature from which all else is derived is itself derived.

The Sāṁkhya scheme of evolution is built on the principle of *satkārya*, according to which "that alone is real, which having adopted an earlier existence produces a later existence; that which is both the beginning and the end of something, that is considered true."[41] There is no ultimate distinction between cause and effect, or between power and the possessor of power. Each category, except for the gross elements, which are the final evolutes, is both a substance and a power, an evolute and an evolver. Each category has no quality not already present in the category from which it evolved. That which is gross has a subtle form within that which produced it. This principle applies for the primal nature in relation to the Person as well as to the gross elements in relation to the subtle elements. According to the principle of *satkārya*, in the words of Sen Gupta, "whatever is non-existent cannot be made totally non-existent....The effect that is produced from the cause is not totally dissimilar to it, as no intercourse is possible between two absolutely distinct entities."[42] Thus the

40. III, 26, 3a.
41. XI, 24, 18.
42. Sen Gupta, *The Evolution of the Sāmkhya School of Thought*, p. 41.

effect is always subtly present in the cause. Since there is ultimately one cause, all that is, is present in that one cause.

Having so grounded multiplicity in unity by the doctrine of *satkārya*, how does the *BhP* explain the transformation (*pariṇāma*) of unity into multiplicity ? How is that equilibrium of the qualities within the unmanifest (*prakṛti*) disturbed ? In the second canto Brahmā asserts that "from time there is the appearance of the qualities, from the innate essence (*svabhāva*) of creatures there is transformation, from their inherited destiny (*karma*) there is the birth of the great principle—all this because of the power of the power of the Person."[43] These three, time, the innate essence of creature, and their inherited destiny, are not categories (*tattvas*), dependent upon the primal nature, but powers (*śaktis*) of Bhagavān. Nor are they products of the evolutionary process, which presupposes these supraphenomenal powers. In fact the powers are indentified with Bhagavān.

Time, which is sometimes designated as the twenty-fifth category, is identified with Bhagavān : "from whom there is the primal nature, which is the equilibrium of the qualities and without differences—he is designated as time."[44] Bhagavān, who is unaffected by change, by means of his creative energy dwells within all his creatures in the form of the Person and outside of them in the form of time. The *BhP* sees time in three ways : (1) as God, (2) as his power, and (3) as temporal sequence. Time as God and his power presides not only over the disturbance of the equilibrium of the qualities, but also over the maintenance and dissolution of the universe. Creation has a beginning and an end, but time has neither beginning nor end, nor does it change, since it is an integral part of the nature of the Supreme Deity. "One might say," with Bhaṭṭācarya, "somewhat paradoxically time is free from the limitations of time."[45] But only because Time and God are an eternal process.

Time, the innate essence of the creature, and its inherited destiny are eternal functions of the Deity. In the *BhP* there is no

43. II, 5, 22.
44. III, 26, 17.
45. Siddheśvara Bhaṭṭācārya, *The Philosophy of the Śrīmad-Bhāgavata* (Calcutta : Ranajil Ray, 1960-62), I, 259.

creation from nothing nor does time begin. Thus the creature, whether latent or manifest, always has an innate essence by which he may become manifest and always has an inherited destiny which will determine the precise details of that manifestation. The innate essence is Bhagavān's purpose and determination for that existent, modified only by the inherited destiny of the individual self, both of which are present to Bhagavān before any particular creative moment, since the cycle of death and rebirth (*saṁsāra*) is eternal. Bhagavān sports for the purpose of giving the individual self existence and that sport, by his will, is subject to the innate essence of the individual self. It is also subject to the free actions of the individual self (*karma*). These two, the innate essence and the inherited destiny of the individual self, are identified with Bhagavān himself in accordance with the non-dualism of the *BhP*.

The individual self (*jīva*) for whom creation occurs is a shadow of the Supreme Person. As a function of the Person the individual self is not essentially tied down to the phenomenal products of the evolution from primal nature. The senses, the objects of the senses, and the mind constitute the body of the individual self which must give them up. The individual self is eternal, immutable, pure, one, a witness, the refuge, unchanging, self-luminous, a cause, all-pervasive, unattached and perfect, qualities which it shares with the Supreme Self, because it is identical with the Supreme Self. The individual self achieves phenomenal existence when the Person and the primal nature meet. The result of their meeting is the limitation of the Self in a body, that is, the individual self. Thus the individual self cannot really die for "you were not born, like the body, which was previously non-existent and therefore perishes....The Self is unborn and does not die."[46] When the body dies the individual self is reunited with Brahman. This is one of the more extreme identity texts of the *BhP* where the empirical and phenomenal self only appear to differ from Brahman.

For the *BhP* the question of bondage is not minimized and release from it is a pressing concern, in spite of those passages

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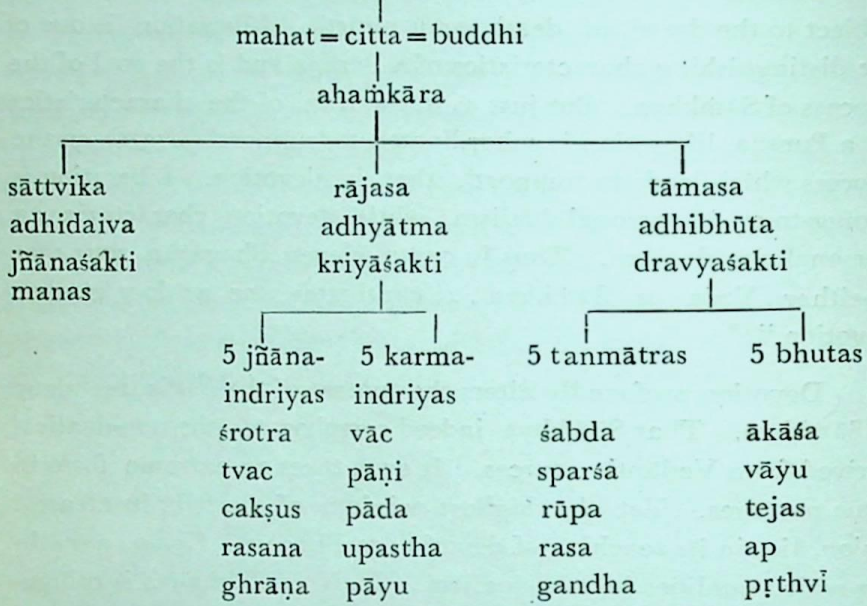
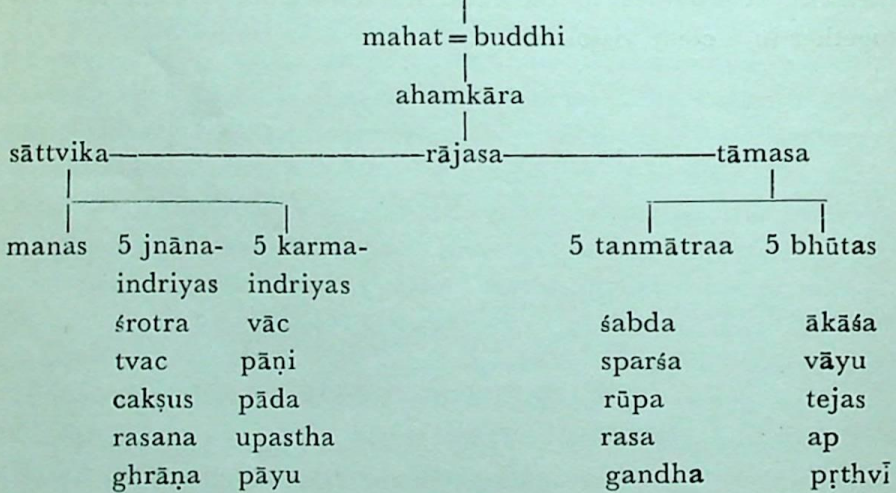
46. XII, 5, 2, 4.

which seem to describe the world and the individual self as illusory. As Sanatkumāra says in canto four : "For a man there is no higher ruination of his purpose than the ruination through the self of the self, for the sake of which everything else is dear."[47] Liberation alone is a worthy end of life since any other purpose is subject to the dread of death and rebirth. Liberation is one of the distinguishing characteristics of a Purāṇa and is the goal of the process of Sāṁkhya. But just as in the lists of the characteristics of a Purāṇa, liberation is subordinated to 'support' (*āśraya*), so the process which leads to 'support', that is, devotion. Liberation is proper to an impersonal dualism, while devotion characterizes a personal non-dualism. Thus in canto eleven Bhagavān says that "neither Yoga or Sāṁkhya . . . captivates me as does intense devotion."[48]

Devotion profoundly alters the context of the *BhP*'s treatment of Sāṁkhya. That Sāṁkhya indeed corroborates the non-dualism derived from Vedāntic sources. It even takes an extreme form in some passages. Yet the highest wisdom of the *BhP*, its clearest vision, lies in its teaching of devotion to Bhagavān Kṛṣṇa, a teaching which qualifies its non-dualism. Thus its Sāṁkhya is compatible for the most part with both the *BhP*'s non-dualism and its theism. It provides a theoretic framework for binding the two together in a clear vision.

47. IV, 22, 32.
48. XI, 14, 20.

APPENDIX I

Comparison of Bhāgavata and Classical Sāṁkhya[1]

1. Based on the charts compiled by T. S. Rukmani, A *Critical Study of Bhāgavata Purāṇa,* Chowkhamba Sanskrit Studies Vol. LXXVII (Varanasi : Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office, 1970), pp. 21 and 23. Cf. II. 5. 21-31; III. 26. 1-48; XI. 24. 1-9.

THE JUSTIFICATION FOR KṚISHṆA'S AFFAIR WITH THE HUNCHBACKED WOMAN*

By

NOEL SHETH,

When Kṛishṇa† returns to Mathurā to kill King Kaṁsa, he meets a hunchbacked woman (*kubjā*), called Trivakrā in the *Bhāgavata*, who is a maid-servant in charge of preparing perfumed unguent for Kaṁsa. She is cured by Kṛishṇa as a reward for gladly offering him the fragrant ointments. Enamoured of him, she asks him to sport with her at her house. In some versions Kṛishṇa promises to return, and later spends the night with her. Elsewhere[1] I have analysed the justifications given by the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* and the *Bhāgavata* for certain embarrassing episodes in the life of Kṛishṇa. In this paper I propose to deal with the arguments put forward by several texts and their commentaries[2] to exonerate Kṛishṇa from moral blemish in this disconcerting affair with the hunchbacked woman.

* Paper presented at the 31st Session of the All-India Oriental Conference, Jaipur, October, 1982.

† The transliterated form Kṛishṇa (for Kṛṣṇa) has been used in this article.

1. See my "The Impeccable Kṛishṇa", *Indica* 18 : 1 (March 1981) : 1-6.

2. (a) The following editions have been used : (1) *Harivaṁśaḥ*. Critically edited by Parashuram Lakshman Vaidya, 2 vols. Poona : Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 1969-71. (2) *Brahmapurāṇam*. Edited by the Pandits of Ānandāśrama, *Ānandāśrama Saṁskṛta Granthāvali* vol. 28. Poona : Ānandāśrama Press, 1895. (3) *Viṣṇupurāṇam* with the commentary of Śrīdhara called *Svaprakāśa*. Edited by Jivananda Vidyasagara. Calcutta : Sarasvati Press, 1882. (4) *Śrīmadviṣṇupurāṇam*. With the commentary of Ratnagarbha Bhaṭṭācārya called *Vaiṣṇavākūtacandrikā*. Bombay : Śaka 1824 [1902]. (5) *Śrīmadbhāgavatam*. With the commentary of Gaṅgāsahāya called *Anvitārthaprakāśikā ṭīkā*. Edited by Pāṇḍeya Rāmtej Śāstr . Benares : Paṇḍit Pustakālaya, Saṁvat 2002 [1965]. (6) *Śrīmadbhāgavatam Daśamaḥ skandhaḥ*. With several commentaries. Edited by Śrī Nityasvarūpa Brahmacārī. 3 vols. Vṛndāvana : Śrī Devakīnandana Press, Saṁvat 1963-64 [1906-07]. (7) *Brahmavaivartapurāṇam*. Edited by Vāsudevaśāstrī

Embarrassing elements in the episode

It is only in the BVP (4.72. 19-20) that the hunchbacked woman approaches Kṛishṇa of her own accord. In the other texts,[3] however, Kṛishṇa takes the initiative and accosts her as she goes on her way. While in the HV (71. 34-35) Kṛishṇa rejects her blandishments and departs nobly, in the BP (193. 12) and the ViP (5.20.12) he promises to return to her. Actually, however, Kṛishṇa does not return in the BP and the ViP. On the other hand, in the BhP, not only does he promise to return (10. 42. 12), but accompanied by Uddhava, he actually pays her a visit (10. 48. 1) in order to make love to her. In the BVP (4. 72. 53-55), even though he has not been invited, he goes to her house of his own accord, alone and when all are asleep. So instead of her visiting him as an *abhisārikā*, Kṛishṇa goes to her house. Kṛishṇa, indeed, in the BhP and BVP, appears to be emotionally with her. In the BhP Kṛishṇa tells her that she is the resort of homeless travellers like himself and that in her house men relieve their fever [of passion] (10. 42. 12). And, when he later visits her house, he enters her bedrom without her asking him (10. 48. 4), takes hold of her timid hand, leads her to be bed and sports with her (10. 48. 6). In the BVP Kṛishṇa explicitly asks her to make love to him (4. 72. 56), and so violent and passionate is their love-making (vv. 59-64) that, at

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Mārāṭhe (vols. 1 and 2) and Puruṣottamaśāstrī Rānaḍe (vol. 2). 2 Vols. *Ānandāśrama Saṁskṛta Granthāvali* vol. 102. Poona : Ānandāśrama Press, 1935. (8) *Padmapurāṇam.* Edited by Viśvanātha Nārāyaṇa Maṇḍal·ka. 4 vols. Poona : Ānandāśrama Press, 1893-94.

(b) References to the story are found in the following passages : *Harivaṁśa* (HV) : 71.22-35; *Brahma Purāṇa* (BP) : 193.1-12; *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (ViP) : 5.20.1-12; *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (BhP) : 10.42.1-13 and 10.48.1-12; *Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa* (BVP) : 4.72.15-36 and 51-69, *Padma Purāṇa* (PP) : 6.272.339-341.

Note that the versions in the BP and the ViP are practically identical.

(c) The names of the commentators frequently referred to are abbreviated as follows : GS = Gaṅgāsahāya, JG = Jīva Gosvāmin (His commentaries : Ks = *Krama-sandarbha* and Vt = *Vaiṣṇavatoṣiṇī*), SD = Śukadeva, SS = Śr.dhara Svāmin, VB = Vallabha, VC = Viśvanātha Cakravartin, VJ = Vijayadhavaja, VR = Vīrarāghava.

3. HV 71.23; BP 193 2; ViP 5.20.2; PP 6.272.339.

dawn, the moon becomes pale due to bashfulness as it were on account of witnessing the transgression as it were of Kṛishṇa (v.65). In all the texts, except the PP, which makes only a passing reference to this episode, the hunchbacked woman falls in love with Kṛishṇa. In the BhP her heart is said to be even seduced by the beauty of Kṛishṇa (10. 42. 4 and 10), the bestower of the *rasa* (10. 42.1), which, from the context, appears to be the erotic sentiment. In the BhP this erotic love is not raised to the level of mystical love as in the case of the herder women (*gopīs*). In fact, the hunchbacked woman is called unfortunate (*durbhagā*) apparently because, instead of asking for salvation, she asks merely for physical love (10.48. 8-9 and 11).[4] Kṛishṇa, therefore, in the BhP, seems open to the criticism of associating with a prostitute who does not rise above the level of physical love.

Justifications offered by the texts

From the above it will be seen that the earlier texts (HV, BP, ViP) hardly need to attempt any justification for Kṛishṇa's behaviour, while it is the BhP and the BVP that should feel the need to do so. In the HV at the point when Kṛishṇa, without heeding the love-smitten woman's plea to frolic with her, leaves her with a smile, some manuscripts[5] make Kṛishṇa tell her that he is "not that type of man". The BP and the ViP seem to imply that Kṛishṇa is not really involved with the hunchbacked woman by the fact that he addresses her out of passion as it were (*iva*) (BP 1 93.3; ViP 5. 20. 3). Although the ViP and the BP do not offer any explicit justification for Kṛishṇa's promise to return, the commentators on the ViP try to find an implicit vindication in the verse where Kṛishṇa laughs while promising to return to her. Ratnagarbha Bhaṭṭācārya explains that Kṛishṇa laughs because the hunchbacked woman mistakes his favour

4. The BhP casually mentions the hunchbacked woman's attaining salvation through association with the good (*satsaṅga*) (11.12.6-7), but in the narration of the episode itself, the BhP makes no mention of Kṛishṇa bestowing salvation on her. The reward that Kṛishṇa promises her for offering the unguents (10.42.2) seems to be limited to her cure (10.42.6) and the gratification of her passion (10.48.1 and 6).

5. See Apparatus at 71.35.

(*anugraha*) to be love (*anurāga*), and both SS and Ratnagarbha point out that he laughs due to her being smitten with love at the wrong time.[6] Be that as it may, Kṛishṇa does not actually return in the BP and the Vi P.

The BVP makes some attempt to exonerate Kṛishṇa. Kṛishṇa reveals to the hunchbacked woman that she was Śūrpaṇakhā, Rāvaṇa's sister, who, at the time when Kṛishṇa was born as Rāma, did penance to obtain him. By virtue of this penance, he tells her, she can now enjoy him as her husband (*kānta*) (4.72.56-57).[7] Even though the moon blanches as it were at the excesses of Kṛishṇa, he is nevertheless the husband (*pati*) of the hunchbacked woman (4.72.65). So Kṛishṇa is free from moral blemish since he is having intercourse with his own wife. That the hunchbacked woman is Kṛishṇa's wife is further confirmed by her being compared to Lakṣmī (4.72.28. 54 and 60), Viṣṇu's consort, and by her mansion being compared to that of Lakṣmī (v. 29). In addition, the hunchbacked woman is said to be a *satī* (vv. 33 and 55), i. e., a virtuous woman or a faithful wife. Hers is not a more physical love for Kṛishṇa, but an erotic *bhakti*. Joining her hands and bowing her head with devotion (*bhakti*), she circumambulates Kṛishṇa and offers him sandal-paste (vv. 19-20). Later, placing on her bed various offerings for Kṛishṇa, she meditates on his feet with her thoughts, words and deeds. Awaiting his arrival, she constantly sees the world full of Kṛishṇa smitten with love (vv. 33-36). Kṛishṇa, on his part, explicitly intends to bestow salvation on her (v. 58), and, immediately after his sexual intercourse with her, he sends her to his abode, the cow-world (*goloka*), where she becomes a herder woman (*gopī*) called Candramukhī (vv. 66-68).

Although one can have recourse to some of the justifications for Kṛishṇa's erotic love given elsewhere in the BhP[8], it is strange

6. See their comments on ViP 5.20.12. The BP verse (193. 12), being similar to that of the ViP, the comments on the ViP are applicable to the BP too.

7. Since Kṛishṇa is called '*pati*' in v. 65, and the hunchbacked woman is compared to Lakṣmī, as we shall presently see, we may take '*kānta*' to mean 'husband', rather than 'beloved'.

8. See my "Impeccable Krishna" pp. 1-3.

that in the treatment of this episode, apart from the passing reference to Kṛishṇa's imitating the practice of the world when he enters her bedroom of his own accord (10.48.4), the BhP makes no explicit attempt to vindicate Kṛishṇa's affair with Trivakrā, the hunchbacked woman. The commentators, however, come up with vindications of their own as well as justifications, which, they claim, are implied by the BhP. Let us then turn our attention to these commentators of the BhP.

Justifications by commentators on the Bhāgavata

On the one hand, some commentators agree that Kṛishṇa is, in some way, responsible for Trivakrā's infatuation and that he, in turn, is enamoured of her. Trivakrā is seduced by the beauty of Kṛishṇa,[9] who gives her the *rasa* of love.[10] Kṛishṇa, for his part, has an inner yearning for her (VC on 10. 42. 2), and he considers her sexually enjoyable (VR on 10. 42. 12). The passage of time may cause the erotic desire of an ordinary person to subside; but it does not affect the desire of Kṛishṇa, for he is '*acyuta*', as the text says (VB on 10. 48.3). But, on the other hand, the commentators try with might and main to exonerate Kṛishṇa.

Some commentators claim that Trivakrā is actually Kṛishṇa's wife so that there is nothing reprehensible in his sporting with her. (a) VC and GS (on 10. 42. 1 and 10. 48. 10) declare that the hunchbacked Trivakrā is in reality a portion of Kṛishṇ's wife, Satyabhāmā, who is in the form of the earth. The bent back of the earth overburdened by thousands of *asuras* is symbolized by the hunch back. The earth offers her specific quality (*guṇa*) of fragrance under the guise of the sandalpaste and other perfumed unguents. And Kṛishṇa's curing her signifies his removing the burden of the earth. (b) According to VB she is a portion of Lakṣmi (on 10. 42. 1). When the text says that, being cured by Kṛishṇa, she became an excellent woman (*pramadottamā*), it means that she was made similar to Lakṣmī (on 10. 42. 8). The fact that she is wearing bangles shows that she is a married woman whose husband is alive (*suvāsinī*). But she does not have a husband other

9. SS, JG (Vt and Ks), VR, VJ, VB, SD and GS on 10.42.4.
10. JG (Vt), VC, GS, VJ, VB on 10.42.1. SD (on 10.42.1), however, glosses '*rasaprada*' in the text as the 'giver of the *rasa* of *bhakti*'.

than the Lord. So if the Lord does not receive her as his wife, then there would be no point in her wearing the bangles (on 10. 48. 6). Thus there is no fault in her embracing Kṛishṇa since he is her husband (*kānta*) (on 10. 48. 7), and she has no qualms in approaching him whom she considers the husband of Lakṣmī (on 10. 48. 5). (c) JG (Vt) relates a story of a princess who, hearing the praises of the Lord sung by Nārada, performed penance for a long time in order to obtain the Lord as her husband. Then she heard a voice from the sky telling her that she would become a hunchbacked woman in another life, and the Lord who would cure her and restore her to beauty would be her husband (on 10. 48. 10).

According to SS, JG (Vt), VC and GS (on 10. 42. 2), when Kṛishṇa addresses the hunchbacked woman as 'Lady of beautiful thinghs', he is doing so in jest, and not because he has fallen for her.

VB points out that it would not be proper for Kṛishṇa to refuse the smitten woman's request to visit her house, for he has descended (*avatīrṇa*) especially for the sake of women (on 10.42.11); in fact, precisely because he has come for the sake of women, he visits her before visiting Uddhava (on 10. 48. 12). Others[11] claim that the fact that Kṛishṇa laughs and looks at Balarāma and the cowherds when Kṛishṇa promises to return to Trivakrā (10.42.11), shows that, on the one hand, he makes her believe that he is making a promise, but, on the other hand, he is suggesting to Balarāma and the others that he is deceiving her. This defence, however, does not hold water, for Kṛishṇa actually returns to her later, and hence does not deceive her.

In reference to Kṛishṇa's telling Trivakrā that she is the resort of homeless wayfarers like himself and that in her house men could allay the fever of their passion, VC and VB (on 10. 42. 12) say that the sexual innuendo is made in jest and derision. VJ (on 10.42.12) attempts to remove the sexual connotation by asserting that she is the resort of Kṛishṇa, the Lord, because of her devotion (*bhakti*) to him.

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11. JG (Vt) on 10.42.11; VC and GS on 10.42.11-12.

In connection with Kṛishṇa's visiting Trivakrā's house, JG (Vt) (on 10.48.1) says that Kṛishṇa decides to go to her residence not because he is lustful, but because, as the text (10.48.1) reads, he desires to grant her what she likes (*priyam*), i. e., he desires to free himself of his debt to her for offering him the perfumed ointment. VJ (on 10. 48. 1) informs us that Kṛishṇa has descended (*avatīrṇa*) to accomplish the desires of the good, and hence it is that he goes to fulfil Trivakrā's wish. Similarly, VB (on 10.48.1) points out that since Kṛishṇa's prime purpose is to console women, he goes to her house to remove the grief of her separation from him. VR and GS (on 10. 48. 1) declare that Kṛishṇa goes to her abode to fulfil his promise that he would return. VB, SD (on 10. 48.1) and JG (Vt) (on 10. 48. 2) argue that since the text (10.48.1) calls Kṛishṇa the "self of all (*sarvātman*)", there is nothing wrong in his visiting her, for being the self of Trivakrā he is most intimately connected with her.

The *Bhāgavata* itself states that Kṛishṇa is imitating the ways of the world when he enters her bedroom of his own accord, without being invited by Trivakrā (10.48.4). Commenting on this verse, JG (Vt) and VB draw attention to this justification given by the text itself.

When Kṛishṇa, taking the initiative, takes hold of Trivakrā's hand and leads her to bed, he does so not because of lust, but because, as the text (10.48.6) says, she is "hesitant due to bashfulness as it was their first coming together" as husband and wife (VB on 10.48.6). JG (Vt) (on 10.48.6) holds that this is a favour (*anugraha*) that Kṛishṇa confers on her because she offered him unguents out of devotion (*bhakti*).

It is pointed out that Kṛishṇa himself takes pains to avoid the raising of eye-brows by the public. He goes to Trivakrā's house accompanied by Uddhava, who is known for his upright and morally integral character, in order to avoid suspicion (JG (Vt), VC and GS on 10.48.10). After he has visited her, he does not stay there permanently but departs lest rumours should spread against him (VC and GS on 10.48.10).

Attempts are also made to portray Trivakrā in a good light apparently so that Kṛishṇa would not be open to the charge of associating with a morally depraved woman. On the one hand,

many commentators[12] admit that she does not ask for salvation[13] but merely for sexual pleasure, and thus is on a lower level than the herder women (*gopī*) since she does not have the same faith as they (SS, GS on 10.48.8). VB even suggests that Trivakrā could have been a royal courtesan who is now ready to offer herself to Kṛishṇa (on 10.42.3), considering him as a lustful paramour (on 10.42.9). But, on the other hand, JG (Vt) is not prepared to lower Trivakrā in any way. Referring to the BhP's (10.48.11) statement that one who asks for sensual pleasure has a perverted mind, JG (Vt) maintains that Trivakrā has the highest intelligence for she asks for the Lord Kṛishṇa himself, the very embodiment of bliss (*ānanda*) (on 19.48.11). The reason why she is called unfortunate (*durbhagā*), then, is according to him, only because she was previously hnchbacked and a servant (on 10.48.8). In fact, through an alternative analysis of the compound '*anulepārpaṇa-puṇyaleśa* used of Trivakrā (10.48.6), JG (Vt) tries to show that she is the best of devotees. She is the best (*īśā*) of those devotees who appropriate (*la*=*lānti*) the merit (*puṇya*) of offering the unguents (*anulepārpaṇa*). She is the best devotee because she personally offers the unguents to Lord Kṛishṇa himself, and that too at a special time (on 10.48.6). This analysis of the compound to show that Trivakrā is the best of devotees is also given by GS (on 10.48.6). SS, VR, VJ and GS (on 10.48.6) as well as JG (Vt) (on 10.48.6), who gives an alternate explanation of the compound, state that the word '*leśa*' in the compound indicates that Trivakrā has no merit other than that arising from offering the perfumed

12. SS, VR, VB, VC, SD, GS on 10.48.8; VJ, VR on 10.48.11.
13. According to some, Kṛishṇa does grant her salvation inspite of her not requesting it (VJ on 10.48.7; SS, GS on 10.48.8), for Kṛishṇa, through his power of executing his desires (*satyasaṅkalpa*), includes her among those to whom he will grant ***bhakti*** and salvation (VB on 10.48.10). In fact, he uses two fingers to cure her because he wants to grant her both erotic pleasure and salvation (VB on 10.42.7). Note that even in the case of the *gopīs*, some attained salvation even though they considered Kṛishṇa as a paramour (BhP 10.29.11; 11.12.13).

ointment; but it does not mean that her merit is small.[14] JG (Vt), VC and GS, taking their cue from the statment in the text that she was hesitant through bashfulness as it was their first meeting (10.48 .6), conclude that Trivakrā was a virgin. VC (on 10.42.3 and 10.48.6) and GS (on 10.48.6) hold that her hunchacked state, helped preserve her virginity. JG (Vt) (on 10.48.6) declares that Kṛishṇa's healing touch had transformed her into the highest heavenly virgin. So, in different ways, several commentators want to place Trivakrā on a high level so that Kṛishṇa may appear in a better light when associating with her.

VB, we have seen, is not afraid of portraying Trivakrā as a prostitute. He also interprets the term '*rāmā*', which the text (10.48.6) uses in reference to Trivakrā, to mean 'a woman meant to be sexually enjoyed'. But he claims that Kṛishṇa is not at fault for having intercourse with such a woman. Quoting the *Taittirīya Saṁhitā*[15] he says that a man is prohibited from having carnal contact with a *rāmā* only after he has lit the fire (of the Agnicayana sacrifice), and not at some other time. So, since Kṛishṇa has not performed the Agnicayana sacrifice, he is free to consort with Trivakrā.

Thus the texts and commentaries attempt to free Kṛishṇa from moral blemish in this episode with the hunchbacked woman. It is to be expected that, as the understanding of Kṛishṇa's divinity advances, later texts should present a more palatable portrait of Kṛishṇa. In my book, *The Divine Krishna*,[16] I have shown how the BhP, which is later than the HV, the BP and the ViP, safeguards the divinity of Kṛishṇa by omitting, explaining away or transforming incidents which, particularly in the HV, diminish Kṛishṇa's divinity or prove embarrassing or morally disconcerting. From this point of view, it is surprising that, in the treatment of Kṛishṇa's affair with the hunchbacked woman, the later texts, the

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14. VC and SD (on 10.48.6), on the other hand, interpret the compound to mean that Trivakrā has little merit in order to show how generously Kṛishṇa rewards even a small offering made to him.
15. *nāgnim citvā rāmāmupeyāt* (5.6.8.3).
16. Delhi : Munshiram Manoharlal; forthcoming.

BhP and the BVP,[17] present Kṛishṇa in a less noble light than the earlier texts. Could it be that the BhP and the BVP preserve an earlier, more rustic version of the tale? While the BVP attempts to justify Kṛishṇa's behaviour, the BhP does little to exonerate Kṛishṇa explicitly. Kṛishṇa's dalliance with women has been justified elsewhere in the BhP, but, apart from a passing reference to Kṛishṇa's imitating the ways of the world, the BhP does not offer an explicit vindication of Kṛishṇa in this specific case. The several commentaries, however, have tried their level best to fill the lacuna.

17. The PP, although late, makes only a passing reference to this event, and so does not pertain to our discussion.

AN INTERESTING VARIANT IN THE DEVĪ-MĀHĀTMYA

By

J. N. Tiwari

The purpose of this note is to attract the attention of scholars to an interesting variant reading in the *Devī-māhātmya,* which may be of some special significance for the history of the Goddess cult and of the text.[1] The *Devī-māhātmya,* as is well known, is found contained in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa,* but is actually an independent text by itself and has attained the status of the principal scripture for the cult of the Goddess. It not only exists in the form of independent manuscripts, but also has been widely commented upon.[2] It is still extensively used in the liturgy of the Goddess, especially during the annual celebrations in her honour—the *Navarātra.*

In order to appreciate fully the significance of the variant reading of the verse, which is the subject of this investigation, it is necessary to outline in brief the context in which it appears in the text.[3] The third and last part of the *Devī-māhātmya,*—the so-

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1. I owe the preparation of this paper to the encouragement by my friend, Dr. Thomas Coburn. My attention was first drawn to the variant reading during discussions with him and he has also made valuable comments. I am also grateful to my friends, Prof. K. D. Shastri and Dr. R. A. Pathak, who supplied me with some material for the formation of my grammatical arguments. They are, however, not responsible for the opinions expressed here.
2. See Thomas Coburn, Ph. D. dissertation (cited in fn. 30 below), p. 81.
3. I have used the text of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* published by the Veṅkateśvara Steam Press (Bombay, n. d.), and of the *Devī-māhātmya* separately also by the same press (1972/3; title *Durgā-saptaśatī*). Two more things may be noted : (a) *Devī-māhātmya* in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* is a short text, of a little less than 600 verses, divided into 13 chapters. Besides the material of the frame story, it begins with the destruction of Madhu-Kaiṭabha and ends with the demise of Śumbha. Hymns to the Goddess

called *Uttama Carita*[4]—describes the destruction of Śumbha and Niśumbha at the hands of the Goddess. It is a fairly lengthy description, running over several chapters, in which various lieutenants—Dhūmralocana, Caṇḍa-Muṇḍa, and Raktabīja—are killed one by one before the two demon brothers, Niśumbha and Śumbha, are themselves annihilated.

Dhūmralocana is killed by the Goddess herself, and Caṇḍa-Muṇḍa is destroyed by Kālī, who is said to have emerged from the forehead of the Goddess when the latter became angry[5]; Kālī, for this feat, is given the name Cāmuṇḍā. Śumbha then orders a fresh attack and himself appears with a large army (although it is not till much later that his actual encounter with the Goddess takes place). At this stage, the Goddess Caṇḍikā and Kālī are

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are interspersed with the above material at appropriate places, and there is also a *phalaśruti* at the end. The chapterisation of this *Devī-māhātmya* naturally follows that of the *Purāṇa* (Chs. 78-90 in our text). (b) As an independent text, *Devī māhātmya* grew in size by acquiring various appendages fore and aft, mainly the six *aṅgas* : *Kavaca*, *Argalā* and *Kīlaka* in the beginning and the three *rahasyas*, *Prādhānika*, *Vaikṛtika* and *Mūrti*, at the end. It was also converted into a book of 700 verses, apparently in imitation of the *Bhagavadgītā*, as Dr. Coburn suspects (see p. 80 of his dissertation, to be referred to below; cf. also S. Shankaranarayana (tr.) : *Glory of the Divine Mother* : *Devī-māhātmyam*, Pondicherry—Madras, 1968, p. 5). This was done not by composing additional verses but by counting even phrases like *Ṛṣiruvāca* and *Devyuvāca*, etc., as full verses. In this process, the text also acquired the more popular name *Durgā saptaśatī*. In our citations, we refer both to the *Purāṇa* and the independent text, and also stick to the earlier name *Devī-māhātmya* for the independent text. Also, we abbreviate our text and the *Purāṇa* as DM. and Mārk. P. respectively.

4. The division into three *caritas* is characteristic of the *Devī-māhātmya* only as an independent text, and not when a part of the *Purāṇa*.

5. DM. 7.5-6 (=Mārk. P. 84. 4-5) :
Tataḥ kopaṁ cakāroccairambikā tānarīnprati,
Kopena cāsyā vadanaṁ maṣīvarṇamabhūttadā.
Bhrukuṭī-kuṭilāttasyā lalāṭaphalakāddrutam,
Kālī karālavadanā viniṣkrāntāsipāśinī

joined by the personified energies of the gods. As our text describes, "Meanwhile, O ! King, for ensuring the destruction of the enemies of the gods and for the well-being of the lion-like immortals, there issued forth, endowed with excessive vigour and strength, the 'Energies' from the bodies of Brahmā, Śiva, Guha and Viṣṇu and also of Indra, and went in the forms of these gods to Caṇḍikā."[6] These Energies, or *śaktis* are also named and described in the sequel, as Brahmāṇī, Māheśvarī, Kaumārī, Vaiṣṇavī, Vārāhī, Nārasiṁhī and Aindrī. We are even told of a *śakti* coming out of the Goddess herself;[7] she is given the name Śiva-dūtī because she despatched Śiva with a message to the demons to surrender if they wished to save themselves. The demons ignore the message and the battle continues. Kālī and Brahmāṇī, etc., as named above, brave the first attack of the demons, although it is clear that Caṇḍikā too is busy fighting. It is at her orders that Kālī-Cāmuṇḍā enlarged her mouth to drink every drop of Raktabīja's blood, in order to prevent the springing up of fresh demons, and she herself killed the demon. After this, Niśumbha leads the attack on the Goddess, who continues to be assisted by Kālī, Śiva-dūtī, Brahmāṇī, etc. He too meets his death and the main demon army is also destroyed.

Now left alone and angry, Śumbha taunts the Goddess that she should not feel too proud of her prowess, since after all she achieved her success with the help of others (*anyāsāṁ balamāśritya*).[8] In reply, Devī announced that all those goddesses were her own emanations or manifestations (*vibhūti-s*); and she demonstrated it by absorbing them in herself. The rest of the description is taken up by the battle between the Goddess and Śumbha, in which the latter is eventually killed.

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6. DM. 8. 12-13 (=Mārk. P. 85.11-12) :
Etasminnantare bhūpa vināśāya surdviṣām,
Bhavāyāmararimhānām atiīryabalānvitāḥ.
Brahmeśaguhaviṣṇūnāṁ tathendrasya ca śaktayaḥ,
Śarīrebhyo viniṣkramya tadrūpaiścaṇḍikāṁ yayuḥ.
7. DM. 8.23 (=Mārk. P. 85.22) :
Tato devīśarīrāttu viniṣkrāntātibhīṣaṇā,
Caṇḍikā śaktiratyugrā śivāśataninādinī.
8. DM. 10.3 (=Mārk. P. 87.2).

The variant we are interested in occurs with reference to the just-mentioned act of Devī. The relevant verses in the text we are following are DM. 10.5-6 (=Mārk. P. 87.3-4) :

Ekaivāhaṁ jagatyatra dvitīyā kā mamāparā,
Paśyaitā duṣṭa mayyeva viśantyo madvibhūtayaḥ.
Tataḥ samastāstā devyo brahmāṇīpramukhā layam,
Tasyā devyāstanau jagmurekaivāsīttadāmbikā.

These could be rendered as : "I alone exist in this world; who else is there than myself ? See, wicked one, these emanations of mine enter into me indeed. Then all those goddesses, headed by Brahmāṇī, became absorbed in the body of that Goddess; Ambikā, indeed, remained alone.

Now, two editions of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, those of K. M. Banerjea and Jivananda Vidyasagara, carry the reading *devyāḥ stanau*, in place of *devyāstanau*.[9] Pargiter based his English translation on Banerjea's edition[10] translated the relevant part of the last line as" became absorbed into the Goddess' breasts".[11] He notes that he had consulted other editions and some manuscripts also,[12] but makes no reference to any variant as *devyāstanau*. As we shall see, *devyāstanau*, in the sense of "in the body of the Goddess", appears to be the original reading. But that *devyāḥ stanau* is not just an error but an authentic variant is proved by its acceptance as such by the *Guptavatī* commentary of Bhāskara Rāya.[13]

We should examine first if there is anything in the *Devī-māhātmya* itself to help decide as to which of the two is the original

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9. This has been verified for me by Dr. Coburn. K. M. Banerjea's edition was published in Bibliotheca Indica series, Calcutta, 1862, and Jivananda Vidyasagara's by Sarasvati Press, Calcutta, 1879.

10. See *Mārkaṇḍeya Pūrāṇa*, Eng. by F. Eden Pargiter (Bibliotheca Indica series, Calcutta 1904), Introduction, p. iii.

11. Ibid., p. 509.

12. Ibid., Intro., p. iii.

13. See *Durgā-saptaśatī*, with seven commentaries, ed. by Harikṛṣṇa Śarmā (Veṅkateśvara Steam Press, Bombay,) 1916), commentary on 10.4. The *Guptavatī* commentary explains *devyāstanau* as : *tanau layaṁ jagmurityanvayaḥ, Stanāviti chede tu prāpyeti śeṣaḥ.*

reading. There is, indeed, throughout the text—in mythological narratives and especially the hymns—the grand concept of the Goddess as supreme power ever ready to fight evil and grant protection. This the Goddess does herself principally, but also through her various agents, who, as we have seen, are said to be her manifestations. So, there is nothing incongruous in the reference to the Goddess absorbing her *vibhutī-s* in herself. In fact, it not only enhances the dramatic effect of the mythological narrative, but also beautifully brings out the concept of the Goddess as supreme power. Our problem, however, whether the *vibhutī-s* merged into the "body" of the Goddess or her "breasts", is not thus resolved, for there is no description or even allusion to which this statement may be directly connected.

References to specific emanations of the Goddess are not many in our text. As noted above Kālī-Cāmuṇḍā is said to have been born from the forehead of the Goddess,[14] and, indeed, a ferocious *śakti* named Śiva-dūtī is said to have come out of Devī's (Caṇḍikā's) body (*devī śarīrāt*).[15] But we may note that our verse speaks of *brahmāṇī-pramukhā devyaḥ*. And, though Brahmāṇī, etc., are identified with the Goddess in the hymn following the description of Śumbha's death,[16] they are not said to have been born out of the Goddess; rather, as we have seen, they were born out of the gods. However, there is one internal argument in favour of *devyāstanau*, understood as *devyāḥ + tanau*, "in the body of the Goddess", and that is, that whereas there is no reference to any emanation from the breasts of the Goddess,[17] there is frequent mention of emanations from the "bodies" of various divinities, including the Goddess. The instance of Śiva-dūtī has been noted and *Brahmāṇī*, etc., are said to have been born out of the bodies of

14. See above, fn. 5.
15. See above, fn. 7.
16. See the *Nārāyaṇi namostu te* hymn in DM., Ch. 11 (= Mārk. P., Ch. 88).
17. The sole reference to the breasts of the Goddess is in the *Madhyama carita*, in the story of the materialization of Devī from the collective *tejas* of the gods, where (at DM. 2.15 = Mārk. P. 79.14), the two breasts of the Goddess are said to have been formed out of the *tejas* of the Moon-god.

the gods (*śarīrebhyo viniṣkramya*).[18] To vanquish the demons Śumbha and Niśumbha, Devī herself is said to have come out of the *śarīra-kośa* of Pārvatī.[19] Although the text puts emphasis on the word *kośa*, obviously to explain the name Kauśikī,[20] the reference to *śarīra* is significant.[21] When the text introduces verses at the end of the *Madhyama Carita* to connect it to the final *Carita*, it refers to this birth of the Goddess as from the body of Gaurī (*Gaurī dehāt samudbhūtā*).[22] Earlier too, in the *Madhyama Carita*, the Goddess is said to have been born out of the energies (*tejas*) emanating from the bodies of the gods.[23] Absorption into the "body" of the Goddess, would thus appear to be more in tune with the ideas and style of the text.

Two other arguments also support the above inference. The first is that all the well-known commentators adopt the reading *devyāstanau*, and split the compound as *devyāḥ+tanau*, understanding *tanau* as locative singular of *tanu*, meaning "body". In fact, only Bhāskara Rāya notes *devyāḥ stanau* as a variant, himself preferring *devyāstanau* and understanding it as above.[24]

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18. See above, fn. 6 and 7.
19. See DM. 5.84 ff. (=Mārk. P. 82.40 ff.).
20. This, we feel, is quite resorted to in Indian myth-making.
21. DM. 5.87a (=Mārk. P. 82.43a) reads :
 Śarīrakośādyattasyā pārvatyā niḥsṛtāmbikā.
22. DM. 4.41 (=Mārk. P. 81.37) :
 Punaśca gaurīdehātsā samudbhūtā yathā' bhavat,
 Vadhāya duṣṭadaityānāṁ tathā śumbhaniśumbhayoḥ.

 Apparently the name Gaurī is used here to refer to Pārvatī. In the Introductory remarks for the *Uttama Carita* also (which note *ṛṣi*, *devatā*, *chanda*, etc., in imitation of Vedic mantras, and which must have been added to the various *Caritas* in the text in the course of its later history), the Goddess is referred to as *Gaurī-deha-samudbhavām*.
23. See DM. 2.9 ff. (Mārk. P. 79.8 ff.). The verse 13 here (verse 12 in the *Purāṇa*) reads :
 Atulaṁ tatra tattejaḥ sarvadevaśarīrajam,
 Ekasthaṁ tadabhūnnārī vyāptalokatrayaṁ tviṣā.
24. See oommentaries on 10.4, in the *Durgā-saptaśatī*, with seven commentaries, already cited above in fn. 13, where the *Guptavatī* commentary is also reproduced.

The other argument is grammatical, that is, that *devyāstanau*, understood as *devyāḥ + tanau*, is a grammatically happier reading than *devyāḥ stanau*. The verse under reference could be paraphrased as : *Tataḥ brahmāṇīpramukhāḥ samastāḥ tāḥ devyaḥ tasyāḥ tanau layaṁ jagmuḥ; tadā Ambikā ekā eva āsit.* Here the proper object of the verb *jagmuḥ* is *layam* ("went to absorption"); and the Goddess' body or *tanu*, being the basis or location of this act of absorption, is naturally in locative. In *devyāḥ stanau*, the retention of the *visarga* is indeed explicable by certain optional rules of Sanskrit grammar. Pāṇini's *sūtra vā śari* (*Aṣṭā.* VIII. 3.36) is explained in the *Siddhānta-kaumudī* as[25] : the *visarga* is optionally the substitute of *visarga* when a sibilant (*śa*, ṣa, *sa*) follows, and the example given is *hariḥ śete* or *hariśśete*. Further, on this *sūtra*, the *vārttika*, *kharpare śari vā visarga-lopo vaktavyaḥ*, lays down that when the sibilant is followed by a hard consonant, there is optionally the elision of the preceding *visarga*; e. g., *Rāmasthātā* or *Rāmaḥ sthāta*. In the other alternative, there will be *visarga* or *s* —change. In this way, we get three forms : *Rāmasthātā* or *Rāmāḥ sthāta* or *Rāmassthātā*. In fact, this rule would not only help explain the retention of *visarga* in *devyāḥ*, but even permit *devyāstanau* to be split also as *devyāḥ + stanau*, because it permits three forms : *devyāḥ stanau*, *devyāsstanau* and *devyāstanau*. Further, *devyāḥ stanau* will also not do violence to the *anuṣṭup* meter. However, even if this variant could be accepted as proper according to the rules of Sanskrit *sandhi* and prosody, the sentence as a whole is grammatically less satisfactory, for *stanau* is in accusative, whereas its appropriate form should be locative. The only way it can be defended is by arguing that with the verb *jagmuḥ* (i.e. a verb root meaning "going"), an accusative here too may be permissible. The construction, however, remains awkward. As we have seen, it appears less acceptable also on other considerations. It seems reasonably certain, therefore, that *devyāstanau*, understood as *devyāh + tanau*, has greater claim to authenticity than *devyāḥ stanau*.

If absorption into the body of the Goddess is the original sense of our verse, the interesting question would be, why and when was the variant *devyāḥ stanau* adopted. It is difficult to answer these questions satisfactorily, since that would involve, among

25. See *Siddhānta-kaumudī*, Eng. by S. C. Basu, Pt. I, p. 75.

other things, also a close examination of the manuscript evidence and the commentarial tradition, which we have not done. Some conjectures, however, are possible. Firstly, because most of the well-known commentators do not note this variant, it is not likely to have been very popular. Further, since only Bhāskara Rāya notes it, who flourished in the 18th century, it was probably introduced late. Lastly, since both the printed editions which adopt this variant in their texts hail from Bengal, there is a strong possibility that it was in that region that this variant was introduced or was generally accepted.[26]

We may also hazard a conjecture as to why this variant was adopted. The idea of merger into the breasts of the Goddess seems to us to be inspired by a pronounced emphasis on the motherhood of the Goddess. Now, while the mother aspect is clearly suggested at several places in the *Devī-māhātmya*, it does not appear to be central to the concept of the Goddess there.[27]

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26. That the acceptance of this variant even in Bengal was not universal is suggested by the Bengalī edition of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, with translation, by Pañcānana Tarkaratna (pub. by Naṭavara Cakravartī, Calcutta 1909). It reads (90.4b) *devyāstanau*, and translates it in Bengālī as : *devīra śarīre.*

27. We do not think that the frequent use of Ambikā as the name of the Goddess would in itself constitute sufficient evidence of emphasis on mother aspect, and the same could be said of philosophic-cosmogonic suggestions where the Goddess is regarded as creator, supporter and supreme ruler of the world, since the single, first principle as the source of all that is, even if feminine, tends to be impersonal. Even where the Goddess is referred to as mother, cosmogonic overtones are obvious. If we leave out a few cases of Ambikā (e. g., DM. 4.27,37 = Mark. P. 81.27,34), she is rarely addressed in the hymns as mother. Perhaps we discern the true maternal language and underlying religious sentiments only in such few places in the hymns as DM. 11.3a (=Mārk. P. 88.2a) : *Devi prapannārtihere prasīda mātarjagatokhilasya*, or DM. 5.71 (=Mārk. P. 82.34) : *Yā devī sarvabhūteṣu mātṛrūpeṇa saṁsthitā, Namastasyai namastasyai namastasyai namo namaḥ.*

The Goddess of *Devī-māhātmya* is essentially a heroic, fighting figure, a destroyer of evil and protector of people in distress.[28] There is of course, no doubt, that mother-goddesses were known in India from the most ancient times. Vedic figures like Aditi are essentially mother-goddesses, and similar inferences could be drawn also on the basis of archaeological evidence.[29] But the Goddess of *Devī-māhātmya* does not appear to us to stand in any direct line of evolution of a known ancient figures, much less a known mother-goddess figure. As we have tried to demonstrate in some detail elsewhere,[30] the nucleus of the concept of the Great Goddess in *Devī-māhātmya* was formed by a goddess who was essentially a destroyer of demons, or, to be more precise, a destroyer of the buffalo-demon (Mahiṣāsura),[31] and whose cult

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28. It may be noted that in the story of the materialization of the Goddess to kill *Mahiṣāsura*, the gods' *tejas* which formed her body is said to have emanated from them when they became very angry (see DM. 2.9-10 = Mārk. P. 79.8-9). This agrees very well with the heroic nature of the Goddess.

29. Female figures in early terracotta art, with or without conspicuous headdress but with prominent breasts and hips, are often understood as representations of mother goddesses. This is even more suspected when such ladies are shown pregnant or with children in their arms.

30. We refer to our *Studies in Goddess Cults in Northern India, etc.*, ANU. Ph. D. dissertation, 1971, Ch. 2.

31. We think it very important that the *Vaikṛtika Rahasya*, verses 32-33, prescribe that if one could not recite the whole of the *Devī-māhātmya,* he could recite *Madhyama Carita* alone. Since the theme of this *Carita* is the destruction of Mahiṣāsura, the above concession may indirectly support our supposition that the Mahiṣāsuramardini goddess formed the nucleus around which the concept of the Goddess of *Devī-māhātmya* was formed. By the way, it may even be that the text, like the Goddess herself, is the result of a progressive growth : its nucleus being formed by the material of the *Madhyama Carita*, to which later the material of the *Uttama Carita* was added, and the *Prathama Carita* was the last addition, when the whole was also retouched. Also, when the text was inserted in the *Purāṇa,* it did not have the Madhu-Kaiṭabha myth as part of it. Among our other reasons for this suspicion are : (a) there is scarcely any reference to the Goddess as Viṣṇumāyā in the *Madhyama*

was widely prevalent among unbrahmanical tribes inhabiting the Vindhyan ranges. In our text, we see her in her brahmanized form, and this process of bramanization itself may have been a long and complicated one.[32] But even though, the Gooddess has thus acquired a complex personality, her essential character as a fighter goddess is not at all subdued. The mother aspect of the Goddess of *Devī-māhātmya* must have gradually grown in importance, and the introduction of our variant *devyāḥ stanau* must be related to some stage of this growth. That *devyāstanau* could also be split as *devyāḥ+stanau* must have facilitated this introduction. We may imagine that in the background of the Goddess essentially as mother, the original reading *davyāstanau* itself was understood as *devyāḥ+stanau*, i. e. "in the breasts of the Goddess", and this eventually led to the creation of an unambiguous variant *devyāḥ stanau*.

We are not interested here in tracing the history of this development. That is an independent and complicated research in itself.[33] It is worth noting, however, that this aspect is very prominent indeed in the modern Devi cult in Bengal, and it must have been so for a considerable period of time, because it has left its deep imprint on Bengāli social customs and usages.

Carita; and (b) when the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, ch. 91 opens, it connects itself to the preceding *Devī-māhātmya* by referring to it as the account of the slaughter of Mahiṣa at the hands of Devi, of the origins of the Mothers, of the majesty Śivadūtī, and of the slaying of Śumbha-Niśumbha and Raktabīja; it makes no reference to the Madhu-Kaiṭabha myth.

32. By intensively investigating all significant names, epithets, concepts and myths in the *Devī-māhātmya*, Dr. Thomas Coburn has made an excellent study of the earlier Sanskritic sources of the text, and tried to answer the questions : "how in this text is the Sanskritic tradition made contemporary and how is the worship of the Goddess made traditional"; see his : *The Crystallization of the Worship of the Goddess : the Sources and Context of the Devī-māhātmya*, Harvard Univ. Ph. D. dissertation, 1977.

33. An enquiry into the growth of various appendages or *aṅgas* in the *Devī-māhātmya* itself and a close scrutiny of commentarial tradition on the text should form an important part of this research.

It has been a common practice in traditional Bengālī homes to endearingly address even unmarried daughters and daughters-in-law as mother, and this honour is accorded to even very young children.[34] It is possible that the development of the mother aspect of the Goddess of *Devī-māhātmya* also coincided with the extension of her cult in the eastern parts of the country, including Bengal. In any case, it must have been particularly popular there. It is not without significance, therefore, that the variant *devyāḥ stanau* is found to be especially popular in the Bengālī manuscripts of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa.*

A concluding observation may also be made, which, though not directly connected to our problem, appears to us to be significant. We feel that barring exceptional instances when variants are introduced because of a copyist's error or lack of understanding of an unfamiliar name or expression, they are generally very meaningful expressions and carry their own specific and valid point of view. They may be chronologically earlier or later, but none need be proved right or wrong and none rejected, because each represents a special tradition or a special facet of the same tradition.

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34. Bengālī fictional literature, as of Rabindra Nath Tagore, Sharat Chandra Chatterjee, etc., provide good evidence of it.

A PURĀṆIC OBJECTIVE DIVISION OF SMELL (GANDHA) NOT FOUND IN THE WORKS ON PHILOSOPHY

By

Ram Shankar Bhattacharya

Logical fault in the Logicians' division of smell

While dealing with the attributes (*guṇas*) of the *bhūtas* (elements) the Logicians (followers of the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika philosophy) assert that smell (the attribute capable of being apprehended by the olfactory organ) is of two kinds : *surabhi* and *asurabhi*.[1]

A careful comparision of this division of smell with that of *rasa* (taste), *rūpa* (colour), *sparśa* (touch) and *śabda* (sound)[2] reveals that the principle of dividing smell is different in nature from that of diving taste, colour, touch and sound. It is a logical fault to apply two different kinds of principle in dividing the aforesaid five attributes.

If *surabhi* and *asurabhi* mean agreeable and disagreeable smell respectively, then the division must be taken as purely subjective,[3]

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1. गन्धो द्विविधः. सुरभिरसुरभिश्च (Praśastapāda-bhāṣya, sec. on Pṛthivī); गन्धो घ्राणग्राह्यः सुरभिरसुरभिश्च (*ibid*, sec. on gandha); सौरभश्चासौरभश्च स द्वेधा परिकीर्तितः (Bhāśāpariccheda, 102); स च द्विविधः, सुरभिरसुरभिश्च (Tarkasaṁgraha, sec. on gandha).
2. Six varieties of *rasa*, namely मधुर, अम्ल, लवण, कटु, तिक्त and कषाय; seven varieties of *rūpa*, namely श्वेत, नील, पीत, रक्त, हरित, कपिश and चित्र; three varieties of *sparśa*, namely शीत, उष्ण and अनुष्णाशीत; two varieties of *śabda*, namely ध्वनि and वर्ण.
3. Cp. "The division of olfactory qualities into agreeable and disagreeable smell merely indicates their close connection with the feelings of pleasantness and unpleasantness (Oswald Kulpe : Outlines of Psychology, p. 102).

while no division of taste, colour, touch and sound as stated by the Logicians[1] is subjective in nature.

That the Logicians' division of smell is subjective is positively proved from the bhāṣya of Vātsyāyana in his scholium on NS.3.1.58 which divides smell into *iṣṭa*, *aniṣṭa* and *upekṣaṇīya.* Since the *upekṣaṇīya* sort of smell is difficult to realize and since it has very little application in the practical life, later Logicians rejected it and propounded the two-fold division (*surabhi—asurabhi* = *iṣṭa–aniṣṭa*) using words well-known in the cultural tradition of India. Since the three-fold *(iṣṭa-aniṣṭa-upekṣaṇīya)* division is subjective in nature, the two-fold (*surabhi-asurabhi*) division must also be regarded as subjective.

From the explanation सुरभिश्चन्दनादौ असुरभिर्मद्यादौ (comm. Mitabhāṣiṇī on Tarkabhāṣā, p. 20) it appears that in a much later period *surabhi* was taken in the sense of 'what purifies or pacifies the mind' and *asurabhi* in the sense of 'what distracts, or maddens the mind'. This division is evidently based on Dharmaśāstra and it is clear that this is not a strictly objective division.[4]

The *surabhi* and *asurabhi* of the Logicians are not the same as the *sugandhi* and *durgandhi* of Āyurveda.[5] No authoritative works on Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika use these words in connection with the division of smell.

Since the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika philosophy is strictly realist, Logicians must have conceived an objective division of smell like the division of taste, colour, touch and sound. It is a matter of great regret that this objective division is not found in the available works on the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika philosophy.

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4. If smell can be divided into agreeable and disagreeable, taste etc. can also be divided in the same way; for example we may divide colour into charming and ugly, touch into pleasant and unpleasant.

5. सुखानुबन्धी सूक्ष्मश्च सुगन्धो रोचनो मृदुः । दुर्गन्धो विपरीतोऽस्माद् हृल्लासारुचिकारकः ॥ (सुश्रुत, सूत्र. 46.520). It is not the strict division of smell as the context shows. It is to be noted in this connection that in a similar enumeration of twenty guṇas there is no mention of *sugandha* and *durgandha* in the Caraka, Sutrā 25.36.

Objective division of smell in the Itihāsa-Purāṇa works

It is remarkable to note that Itihāsa-Purāṇa literature contains a description of the objective division of smell which is similar in nature to the Logicians' division of *rūpa*, *rasa* etc. The relevant verses are found in the Śānti-parvan and the Nāradīya-purāṇa[6], which read as under :

तस्य गन्धस्य वक्ष्यामि विस्तराभिहितान् गुणान् ।
इष्टश्चानिष्टगन्धश्च मधुरः कटुरेव च ॥
निर्हारी संहतः स्निग्धो रूक्षो विशद एव च ।
एवं नवविधो ज्ञेयः पार्थिवो गन्धविस्तरः ॥

(Śānti-p. 184. 28-29; Cr. ed. 177. 27-28; Nāradīya-p. 42.82-83; *guṇa* in the first line means 'variety')[7]

It is clear that this division is objective in character. Here *iṣṭa* and *aniṣṭa* cannot be taken as adjectival expressions meaning 'desirable' and 'undesirable' respectively for obvious reasons.

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6. I do not subscribe to the view held by a host of modern scholars that if some passages (in almost identical words) are common to the Purāṇas and the Mahābhārata the MBH.-version must be regarded as earlier than the Purāṇic version. The question of borrowing or dependence should be decided by evidences. In this paper we refrain from discussing the question of borrowing as it has no bearing on the subject discussed. It it to be noted that the interlocutors in both the Śānti-p. and the Nārad ya-p. are the same persons (Bhṛgu and Bharadvāja). The interlocution falls in the dialogue by Bhīṣma and Yudhiṣṭhira in the Śānti-p. and in the dialogue by Sanandana and Nārada in the Nāradīya-p.

7. N lakaṇṭha's observations on these divisions are as follows : इष्टः कस्तूरिकादौ । अनिष्टः शवादौ । मधुरो मधुपुष्पादौ । कटुर्मरीचादौ । निर्हारी सर्वगन्धाभिभावको हिङ्ग्वादौ । संहतश्चित्रगन्धोऽनेकद्रव्यकल्पगतः । स्निग्धः सद्यस्तप्तघृतादौ । रूक्षः सर्षपतैलादौ । विशदः शाल्यन्नादौ । N.l. has not defined the varieties (except निर्हारी and संहत) but has only examplified them which shows that he was not aware of the precise character of these varieties. As these names do not clearly suggest the character of the varieties, it was necessary for the commentator to define them. There is ample doubt whether the explanations given by the commentator are original and the examples corret.

Though this chapter is in the dialogue of Bhṛgu (speaker) and Bharadvāja, who are not regarded as Logicians in the technical sense of the word and though the chapters in this dialogue do not deal with the peculiar views of Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika, yet there are reasons for our referring to the Nyāya-Vaiśesika śāstra. The available ancient works on Sāṁkhya, Yoga and Vedānta contain no discussion on the subdivisions of smell, taste etc. and if any later work on these śāstras mentions the varieties of smell, etc. the work is found to follow the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika view. In such a gross matter as the division of smell, taste, etc., it is quite likely that these śāstras follow the same divisions as are found in Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika, for these divisions have no bearing on the fundamental views and the view-points of these śāstras. As the division of smell etc. is found to have been treated with some details in the Nyāya-Vai esika work, we thinks it justified to mention the name of Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika in connection with the present discussion.

A similar division of smell is found in the Aśvamedha-p. (50. 42-43a; cr. ed. 49.41b-42) also, which speaks of ten varieties. Here only *amla* is mentioned in addition to the nine varieties mentioned in the Śānti-p. and the Nāradíya-p. Unless the precise nature of these varieties of smell is known, the justifiability of inclusion or exclusion of *amla* cannot be decided properly. It however cannot be denied that these Purāṇic passages are based on some ancient works. The extreme similarity in the order of enumeration of the varieties found in all these places undoubtedly shows that these Purāṇic statements are based on some ancient treatise dealing with the elements and their attributes.

Reason for conceiving the non-objective division

As to why the aforesaid objective division of smell fell in disuse is a question that requires solution. According to us it is the peculiar character of smell that is the cause of this disuse.

It can be easily understood that as the varieties of colour can be conceived easily without any reference to the substance in which they reside the varieties of smell cannot be conceived in the same way—a fact which has been noted by modern psycho-

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logists also.[8] It is important to note that the names of the different kinds of smell usually used by common men have a direct reference to the odorous substances; cp. the words : spicy, flowery, fruity, resinous, foul and scorched (smell). The following remarks of the great psychologist O. Kulpe may be considered in this connection : "It is significant that language which distinguishes sweet and acid, heavy and light, white and red, has no special names for odours, but uses descriptive terms—the fragrance of the rose, the scent of the violet, the perfume of the carnation etc." (Outlines of Psychology, p. 100).

Thus the reason for conceiving the subjective division becomes clear. Since smell cannot be easily conceived without the substances possessing smell and since the substances may be divided into *heya* (forsakable), *upādeya* (acceptable) and *upekṣaṇīya* (negligible) classes or into *heya* and *upādeya* classes, smell was also divided into three or two divisions (as shown above).

It is possible that the *surabhi-asurabhi* division is based on the *śuci-aśuci* character or the *medhya-amedhya* character of things.[9] This is in accordance with the Dharma-śāstra point of view and is connected with injunctions and prohibitions (*vide* Medhātithi on Manu 2.177; 3.209).

Thus it is clear that since the objective division of small served no practical purpose the non-objective division gradually came in vogue and in later times replaced the objective division. Later Logicians do not seem to have paid adequate attention to a subject like the subdivision of *guṇas* as they were chiefly engaged in discussing the nature of *pramāṇas* and in refuting the views of their opponent schools. Since later Logicians did not take much interest in studying the *prameyas* in a proper way they overlooked many faults or shortcomings concerning the views they propounded or accepted.

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8. "It is impossible to classify the different types of odours except by reference to the substances giving rise to the odour" (John J. B. Morgan and A. R. Gilliland : An Introduction to Psychology, pp. 114-115).

9. Cp. शोभनाशोभनध्येयग्रहणे तु विपर्ययः (Viṣṇudharmottara-p. 3.238.30).

We may also think of a different cause for the सुरभि-असुरभि-विभाग of smell. A misunderstanding seems to have given rise to this division. The lists of the nine-fold and the tenfold division of smell begin with the expressions इष्टश्चानिष्टगन्धः. Most probably in the original enumeration of the divisions of smell इष्ट and अनिष्ट varieties were mentioned at the beginning. Thus it follows that in olden times the expression इष्टादि was used at the time of referring to the division of smell. Later the expression इष्टादि was wrongly understood as meaning इष्ट and अनिष्ट only. Since the two divisions इष्ट and अनिष्ट (i. e. other than इष्ट) exhaust the whole field of smell, the इष्ट-अनिष्ट-विभाग came to be regarded as the originally established view and the two highly attractive names सुरभि and असुरभि were given to these divisions respectively.[10]

Classification of smell by modern scientists

Modern scientists have also tried to formulate an objective division of smell. It is remarkable to note that the Dutch physiologist Zwaardemacker has conceived *a nine-fold division of smell* which is however not identical with the Purāṇic division (*vide* M. W. Calkins : An Introduction to Psychology, p. 60). Since our readers may be interested in knowing these varieties they are given below :—

(1) Ethereal (as in fruit, honey); (2)aromatic (as in camphor); (3) fragrant (as in flowers); (4) ambrosiac (as in musk); (5) alliacious (as in onion, garlic, sulphur), (6) empyreumatic (as in pepper, tobacco); (7) hircine (as in goats, rams); (8) virulent (as in corpse or in stale things); (9) nauseating (as in secretions, feces)[11]

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10. The Logicians who conceived the objective division seem to be anterior to the scholiasts Vātsyāyana and Praśastapāda. They may even be anterior to the sūtrakāras Gotama and Kaṇāda. There is no doubt that the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika śāstra was in a seedy and potential state before these teachers.

11. A comparative study of these varieties may yield valuable results. Modern scholars of physiology may take up this study and see how far the Purāṇic conception (which most probably does not represent the original view precisely) is justifiable. Recently the wellknown psychologist Henning has classified smell into six classes–fruity, flowery, spicy, resinous, scorching and putrid.

Nature of Purāṇic presentation

The aforesaid two Purāṇic works (in the same three chapters) speak of the division of *rasa*, *rūpa*, *sparśa* and *śabda* also. (The names of the varieties of *rasa* etc. are given in the footnote).[12] A careful consideration of these divisions would show that they possess logical faults. That the divisions are based on more than one principle is beyond doubt.[13]

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12. In Śānti-p (ch. 184) the sub-divisions of *rasa* etc. are as follows : मधुर, लवण, तिक्त, कषाय, अम्ल and कटु (of रस); ह्रस्व,दीर्घ, स्थूल, चतुरस्र, अनुवृत्तवान्, शुक्ल, कृष्ण, रक्त, पीत, नीलारुण, कठिन, चिक्कण, श्लक्ष्ण, पिच्छिल, मृदु and दारुण (of रूप); उष्ण, शीत, सुख, दुःख, स्निग्ध, विशद, खर, मृदु, रूक्ष, लघु गुरुतर and गुरु; some however enumerate eleven varieties leaving गुरु, see Nīl. (of स्पर्श); षड्ज, ऋषभ, गान्धार, मध्यम, धैवत, पञ्चम and निषाद (of शब्द). In Aśvamedha-p. the varieties are : मधुर, अम्ल, कटु, तिक्त, कषाय and लवण (of रस); शुक्ल, कृष्ण, रक्त, नील, पीत, अरुण, ह्रस्व, दीर्घ, कृश, स्थूल, चतुरस्र and वृत्त (of रूप); रूक्ष, शीत, उष्ण, स्निग्ध, विशद, कठिन, चिक्कण, श्लक्ष्ण, पिच्छिल, दारुण and मृदु (of स्पर्श); (Here only 11 varieties are enumerated, though they are said to be 12 in verse 50. The variety नातिशीतोष्ण seems to be added on the force of the expression तथैव in verse 49); षड्ज, ऋषभ, गान्धार मध्यम, पञ्चम, निषाद, धैवत, इष्ट, अनिष्ट and संहत (of शब्द). The character of the last three varieties is to be known clearly. इष्ट and अनिष्ट cannot be taken here as meaning 'agreeable, and 'disagreeable' respectively.

13. The commentator Nīlakaṇṭha attempted to justify the Purāṇic division of *rūpa* by adducing the following argument : कठिनादयः स्पर्शभेदा अपि चक्षुषापि निर्णेतुं शक्या इति रूपमध्ये पठिताः । तथाहि लोष्टपाषाण-संघट्टे तत्राशानाशाभ्यां बालास्तयो र्मृदुत्व-कठिनत्वे निश्चिनोति, एवमन्यत्रापि ज्ञेयम् (on Śānti-p. 184.34). The faulty character of the argument is clearly discernible. That the Purāṇic authors do not strictly follow the views of Logicians has also been stated by Nīlakaṇṭha (लघुत्वगुरुत्वे तर्कमते पतनानुमेये अपि पौराणिकमते त्वग्ग्राह्ये एव, 184.37).

The faulty nature of the Purāṇic presentation is due to the peculiar character of Purāṇa literature. It is our wellconsidered opinion that though the Purāṇic presentation of the views of ancient teachers of various śāstras are based directly or indirectly on the original works of these teachers, yet the views as presented are not as accurate, deep and precise as the original views are. The reason is obvious. Since the Purāṇas are chiefly composed for the common people, their authors were not particular about what was the proper form of the views of the ancient śāstras. In fact they were especially interested in rendering their presentation of the views of ancient teachers or śāstras easy and attractive, with the help of exaggeration etc. Moreover as some of the authors of the Purāṇic works were not specialists in ancient śāstras, it is quite natural that they committed errors in presenting the views. Sometimes sectarian leaning was also a cause for presenting the ancient non-sectarian views in a coloured form. This is why we sometimes find erroneous ideas in the Purāṇic versions of the views of ancient śāstras i.e., the views as presented in the Purāṇas do not always represent the original form of the views as held by the ancient teachers. The Purāṇic presentation of the divisions of the *guṇas* (*śabda*, *sparśa*, *rūpa*, *rasa* and *gandha*) is also to be understood as possessing the same character and it would be too much to expect that since one part of this presentation is valid, the other parts would also be valid.

COMPOSITION, TRANSMISSION AND RECITATION OF THE PURĀṆA-S*

(A Few Remarks)

By

GIORGIO BONAZZOLI

Though the Mahāpurāṇa-s are eighteen in number, the study of the manuscripts and the little more we have learned about the history of purāṇic development, brings us to the conclusion that they are innumerable, because each purāṇa has several versions, which may be so different from one another as to be hardly related to the purāṇa to which they claim to be attached. These considerations, so clearly stated also by L. Rocher in his paper at the Wisconsin South Asia Conference[1], put under discussion the very possibility of critical editions of the purāṇa-s. Even without sharing the approach to the study of Indian texts now fashionable in France[2], it seems that we cannot proceed any longer to prepare critical editions of the purāṇa-s, unless we have rethought the whole problem in all its aspects. The difficulties we are facing as we proceed in preparing the critical editions are themselves the best stimulus for a reconsideration of the whole matter.[3] To give the latest example of the difficulties in continuing the critical edition as it has been until now, I can mention the MSS situation of the Garuḍa Purāṇa, which is now under preparation at the All-India Kashirāj Trust of Vārāṇasi. The printed editions of this purāṇa,

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* Abbreviations are given at the end.

1. Cf. *Purāṇa* XXV. 1 (Jan., 1983), pp. 64-76.
2. For the method applied to the Purāṇa-s, see especially M. Biardeau, Some more Considerations about Textual Criticism, *Purāṇa*, X. 2 (July, 1968), pp. 115-123; Letter to the Editor—In reply to Śrī B. M. Bedekar's article, *Purāṇa* XII. 1 (Jan., 1970), pp. 180-81 ; The story of Arjuna Kārtavīrya without re-construction, *Purāṇa* XII. 2 (July, 1970), pp. 286-303.
3. On the point of view about critical editions of the purāṇa-s of A. S. Gupta, the Editor of the critical editions of the Vāmana, Kūrma and Varāha Purāṇa-s, see *Purāṇa* XII. 2 (July, 1970), pp. 302 and 304-321.

as N. Gangadharan[4] has already remarked, contain usually two *khaṇḍa-s*, each of which has different names in the different editions, while the Veṅkaṭeśvara edition contains three *kāṇḍa*-s. The third *kāṇḍa*, usually called Brahmakāṇḍa, is rarely found in the MSS, while the second, usually known as Pretakalpa, Uttarakhaṇḍa or Sāroddhāra, is very common, to the point that many MSS libraries[5] have only this part of the purāṇa and have named it *tout court* the Garuḍa Purāṇa The identification of the Garuḍa Purāṇa with one of its parts, namely the Pretakalpa, is very common also among paṇḍits and people who usually do not know of any other part of the Garuḍa except the Pretakalpa. This could be one of the reasons why we have not yet been able to discover any complete MS of the Ācārakhaṇḍa or Prathamakhaṇḍa of the Garuḍa Purāṇa in Southern Indian scripts. Moreover, the problem becomes more complicated when we study a little closer the Pretakalpa. There are, both in the printed editions and in the MSS material, not less than three different versions, which seem to be related among themselves in this way: one version in ten *adhyāya*-s claims in the colophons to be *Sāroddhāra* and corresponds approximately with the first ten *adhyāya*-s of the Uttarakhaṇḍa of Vaṅgabāsi and Veṅkaṭeśvara editions. Another version of 29 or 30 or 34 or 35 *adhyāya*-s corresponds to the Jīvānanda/Chowkhamba editions and to *adhyāya*-s 12-45 of the Vaṅgabāsi and Veṅkaṭeśvara (Uttarakhaṇḍa); it calls itself Pretakalpa and/or Uttarakhaṇḍa. A third version, which contains both Sāroddhāra and Pretakalpa, corresponds to the complete Vaṅgabāsi and Veṅkaṭeśvara editions. There are, however, also intermediate versions of about twenty *adhyāya*-s[6] which still need to be studied. With all this, the popu-

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4. D. Gangadharan, *Garuḍa Purāṇa—A Study*, All-India Kashiraj Trust, Vārāṇasī, 1972.

5. See, for instance, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Tanjore Maharaja Serfoji's Sarasvati Mahal Library*, Tanjore, vol. XV, Śrīraṅgam, 1932, Nos 10455-10462; *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts*, Sanskrit College Library, vol. IV, Vārāṇasī, 1957. Almost all the Nos of Garuḍa Purāṇa of this catalogue refer to Pretakalpa.

6. See Adyar MS TR 777 in Devanagari, containing ff 60 of a complete Pretakalpa in 18 *adhyāya*-s; MS 74149, in Telugu, containing ff. 86 of a complete Pretakalpa in 20 *adhyāya*-s.

lar edition of the Garuḍa Purāṇa (Pretakalpa) nowadays available in Northern India contains the text of a Sāroddhāra in 16 ***adhyāya***-s written by S. Naunidhirāma of Jhuñjhuṇū (Jaipur)[7], which does not match with any one of the previously mentioned versions but is a fresh composition made up of different purāṇic passages from different purāṇa-s This text, which has been studied and translated into German fifty years ago by E. Abegg[8], is now considered ***prāmāṇika*** by most of the people, even if sometimes the *karmakāṇḍin*-s find a little resistance from laymen because the text they recite is not the one that should be.[9] All this seems to prove, prima facie, that we shall not be in a position to combine all these three different or more Uttarakhaṇḍa-s in one text, if we want to stick to the principles of the critical editions; on the other hand it seems possible to prepare three different editions reconstructed on the basis of the MSS materials. Yet the problem is more complex, from what we are going to see in the following pages.

We know that the purāṇa-s were copied and spread to allow their further study or reading both privately and publicly. As such they were used for recitation, and their copying was not only encouraged, but regulated by fixed norms, at least since eleventh century, the time of the first Nibandha-s. As the purāṇa-s themselves furnish us with a lot of details about these two processes of recitation and copying, they have to be studied carefully. About their composition quite a lot has already been written and always stress has been given to what the purāṇa-s say about themselves, namely that they were composed by Vyāsa, who recited all of them or only one, which later was divided into many by his disciples as time and place changed. Vyāsa and the following authors claim to have received always the new subjects, that are inserted in the text, by God himself, Brahmā, Viṣṇu or Śiva. The situation of the

7. Cf. for instance, गरुडपुराण (प्रेतकल्प) भाषाटीका सहित, श्रीगोपाल पुस्तकालय, मथुरा, no date. The name of the author of this text can be read in the Garuḍa Purāṇa, printed at Nirṇayasagar Press in 1949.

8. E. Abegg, *Der Pretakalpa des Garuḍa Purāṇa*, (Naunidhirāma's Sāroddhāra), Berlin und Leipzig. 1921.

9. Information received from Pt. Braja Kiśora Tripāṭhi Śāstri, Vārāṇasī.

MSS, as for instance in the case of the Pretakalpa, as we have seen above, makes us think, however, that the two processes of composition and transmission very often are identifiable, because in fact what was transmitted as old revelation was newly added. This process so characteristics of oral transmission[10] seems to have been very common with the purāṇa-s. This fact along with the observation that the purāṇa-s were meant mainly for recitation in public, i. e. for representation, may lead us to think that the purāṇa-s were originally oral compositions. Such an opinion can even find further support in the several hints to bards as reciters of our texts[11] and in a good amount of common formulas which have been found also in the Mahābhārata which seem to be proper for bardic oral recitation.[12] All this brings us to analyse the purāṇa-s to see whether they were composed as oral or written texts. The composition, transmission and recitation of the purāṇa-s is, therefore, an important premise for understanding our texts and for finding out how, or whether, we should prepare their critical editions. The problems, which we have hinted here are in fact much bigger than we can now try to solve. We shall start with what the purāṇa-s themselves say about these problems and, as it will appear, it is already quite a lot.

1. Purāṇa-s as written books

Although the Purāṇa-s mention in several places the role of Sūtas, Vyāsas, Māgadhas etc., there seems to be no doubt that the purāṇic texts we possess are written compositions; whether there were, previous to them, purāṇa-s which were orally composed, or whether even in our present texts there are passages originally composed in oral form, shall have to be considered separately. In fact, the texts we read now claim constantly to be

10. See Ruth Finnegan, *Oral Poetry*, Its nature, significance and Social Context, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1977. I have consulted the first Paper Back edition, 1979.

11. Sūta-s, Vyasa-s, Māgadha-s, Vandin-s are mentioned in *Bv* III. 35.63; *Vj* 63 147-148; *Lḍ* II. 36.172-173; cf. F. E. Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, Oxford University Press, London, 1922, p. 17.

12. See P. L. Vaidya, *The Harivaṁśa*, B.O.R.I., Poona, 1969, Introduction pp. XXXIX-XLIII.

written compositions, and have, then, to be treated as such; even if with restrictions, as will become apparent as we proceed.

There are three series of passages in our texts which undoubtedly affirm that the purāṇa-s are written books or books to be read. The first series is at the end, and sometimes also at the beginning, of most of the *kathā-s, māhātmya-s, stotra-s* and other groups of *adhyāya-s* forming a unit by themselves. The word which is stressed in this series is 'recitation' or 'reading'.

पठन् दक्षकृतं स्तोत्रं सर्वपापैः प्रमुच्यते ।। (*Vy* 30.317 cd)[13]

'If one recites the *stotra* composed by Dakṣa, one is freed from all his sins.'

The same word is found also at the end of several purāṇa-s :

इदं यः श्रद्धया नित्यं पुराणं वेदसंमितम् ।
यः पठेच्छृणुयान्मर्त्यः स याति भुवनं हरेः ।। (*B* 245.27)[14]

'The man who recites constantly and listens with faith to this purāṇa, which is similar to the Veda-s, goes to Hari's world'.

Other more general statements are also available in our texts purporting to stress the importance of recitation of a purāṇic passage :

पुराणपठनं यत्र तत्र संनिहितो हरिः ।। (*N* I.6.54 cd)

'Hari is present wherever purāṇa-s are recited.'

उत्तमः श्रद्धया युक्तः श्लोकं श्लोकार्धमेव च ।
पठित्वा मुच्यते सद्यो महापातककोटिभिः ।।
कुर्याद्दिवस्य पुरतो जागरं नियतो व्रती ।
गीतैर्वाद्यैश्च नृत्यैश्च पुराणपठनादिभिः ।।
(*Pd* VI. 64.27,36)

'Very great is the man who recites with faith one or even half a *śloka*; he is immediately freed from myriads of grave sins.'

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13. Cf. also *Vr* 102.17; 104.18; 112.74ff; *L* 70.347; 85.230; 86.157 etc.; *Vm* 59.121; 60.51; 69.12 etc.; *Sk* V (Revā Kh) 1.53; *Bhv* II. 1.8.1ff.

14. Cf. also *Bḍ* III. 4.47; *K* I. 1,114; II. 46.127; *Mk* 137.2; *Vr* 215.17-18; *Bhv* III 4.25.93 etc.

'The man who wants to perform a vow should do, with his mind controlled, a vigil before God with songs, music, dance, and recitation of purāṇa-s etc.'

The root '*paṭh*', that comes always in these texts, has in Pāṇini[15] the meaning of 'speaking clearly out', an act which does not imply necessarily 'reading' from a text. The Vāyu Purāṇa[16] says that the purāṇa-s were divided in the same way as the Veda-s due to *pāṭhāntara* :

पाठान्तरे पृथग्भूता वेदशाखा यथा तथा ॥

The word *pāṭhāntara* when referred to the Veda-s, can hardly mean 'reading' and implies surely the sense of recitation. This same meaning is also outstanding in words like *stutipāṭhaka*, *purāṇapāṭhaka*[17] and the like. *Pāṭhaka*-s[18] or reciters were more commonly called *vācaka-s*[19] or *pustakavācaka*-s,[20] and were deserving special veneration and were on the same foot of importance with the Sūtas and Brahmā himself[21], the original narrators or revealers. The word *pustakavācaka*, however, is already on the line of the second series of texts.

Recitation can be done by speaking a text by heart or by reading it from a written copy. It is difficult to determine the way of recitation in the case of one *śloka* or a *stotra*, as any person can expose it by heart or can read it, but the above-mentioned word, *pustakavācaka*, and all the cases in which the verb *paṭh* is in conjunction wish the word *pustaka* or *grantha*,[22] stand to prove that in some cases the recitation was from written texts :

तत्करात्पत्रिकां गृह्य पपाठ रघुसत्तमः ।
(*Pd* IV. 100.31)[23]

15. Bhvādi-gaṇa 330 पठ व्यक्तायां वाचि
16. Vy 61.59; *Bḍ* I. 35.67; cf. *Vi* III. 4.8; *Bv* III. 12.41; *DBhg* XII. 13.28; 14.26; *A* 383 65.
17. *Bv* I. 10.135; 15.53; cf. *N* I. 6.54.
18. Cf. *Pd* II. 83.43; VI. 250.301.
19. *Pd* III. 25.32; VI. 39-31 etc.; *Bhv* I. 94.56, 61; 101.16; *A* 273 14.
20. *Bhv* I. 93.74-75; I.94 (passim).
21. Cf. *Bv* I. 10.135.
22. Cf. *Pd* IV. 111. 63 etc.
23. Cf. the whole *adhyāya* 100.

'(Rāma), the best of the Raghus took the leaf from his hand and read out.'

The purāṇas are often described as '*pustaka*'-s[24] and sometimes as as *purāṇapustoka*-s as in *Bv* IV. 76.15 and also *saṁhitāpustaka*-s, as in *A* 273.25. The word *grantha* is used in a few cases and the Devī Bhāgavata makes Yajñavālkya pray to Sarasvatī for obtaining the power of composing books, *granthakartṛtvaśakti*[25]. The mistakes in recitation mentioned in *Pd* VI. 100.75ff are mistakes which take place while reading the text and not in mere speaking out a passage by heart. The Devī Bhāgavata confirms its own composition to have been in ancient times :

देवीभागवतं नाम पुराणं ग्रथितं पुरा ॥ (XII. 14.4 ab)

The connection between *pustaka* or *grantha* and *paṭh* makes it apparent that the purāṇa-s claim to be books or volumes to be recited also by means of reading.

The insistence of the purāṇa-s on copying purāṇic passages, which constitutes the third series of texts we are going to examine now, is a further support to the general purāṇic tendency of being transmitted through written means. The word used for copying is *likh* in connection with which it is repeatedly affirmed that 'writing' of the purāṇa-s produces merits.[26] *Bhv* I. 1. 6. extends the meaning of this root also to signify 'composing' ; but the same purāṇa while speaking of Rūpānanda,[27] who 'composed' Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa's Kṛṣṇakhaṇḍa, describes that activity with the verb *kṛ* and not *likh*. The latter root is usually reserved to copying a text from a previous one. We cannot dismiss the idea that the purāṇic specialists learned and recited by heart long passages or even entire purāṇa-s, yet the whole picture described in our texts stands firmly in support of a written transmission of the purāṇa-s.

Up to this point we have not distinguished clearly the phase of composition from the one of transmission. In reality

24. Cf. *B* 175.90; *Bhv* I. 93.68-69; 172.48; *A* 273.29; *Pd* III. 25.35-36; VI. 28.56; 29.26; 125 93.

25. *DBhg* IX. 5.7 cd.

26. *Bhv* I. 172.48; *B* 175.90; *K* II. 44.124; *N* I. 92.44 etc.; *A* 272.1ff etc.

27. *Bhv* III. 4.19.39.

such a distinction is not possible in our texts. The import of this statement appears when we consider the way the purāṇa-s had visualized the copying of texts, upon which it is evident, indeed, that such an activity is not far from composing.

There are a few passages, mainly of upapurāṇa-s, which have been quoted also by the ancient Nibandhakāra-s of the XII cent. A. D., that transmit rules of copying texts from previous manuscripts. Texts have to be copied, according to the purāṇa-s, for getting the merits of *vidyādāna*. Such merits are described for instance in *Mt* 53, *Sk* VII 1.2, the latter of which is a copy of the former, *A* 272, *N* I. 92-109 in a very detailed way, and it is hinted at in almost all the purāṇa-s where the *phalasruti*-s are described in the concluding *adhyāya*-s. Casual hints are also available at the end of a *māhātmya* or a *stuti* and the like. All the three ancient Nibandhakāra-s, namely Bhaṭṭa Lakṣmidhara, author of the Kṛtyakalpataru (∽ 1110 A. D.), Ballāla Sena, author of Dānasāgara, composed between 1161 and 1169 A. D. and Hemādri, author of Caturvargacintāmaṇi (∽ 1270 A. D.), quote a long passage from the Nandi Purāṇa,[28] describing with great details how a passage should be copied from a previous text. The three authors were later imitated by many other Nibandhakāra-s in the subsequent periods. Lakṣmidhara, Hemādri, and later, all the others, add also a long and interesting passage from the Devī Purāṇa.[29] The passages of these two purāṇa-s, as well as *Bhv.* II. 1. 7., purport at giving fixed rules for copying MSS. Among such rules, as given in the Nandi Purāṇa, there

28. R. C. Hazra affirms that 'No MS of this work has been discovered up to the present time' (i.e. 1963), see *Studies in the Upapurāṇas*, vol II, Calcutta, Sanskrit College, 1963, p. 474. The Sarasvati Bhaṇḍāra Library of Rāmnagar Fort, Vārāṇasī has two purāṇa-s which bear the name of Nandi Purāṇa, namely MS No. 66/196; 67/196; but none of them contains the passages quoted in the Nibandha-s. A doubt can, however be raised about the real name of these purāṇa-s; they are called Nandipurāṇa on the cover, and bear the name 'Nandi' on each folio's left side of retro, but the colophons say regularly इति श्रीमत् परानन्दपुराणे etc.

29. The Devī Purāṇa has been published by Śrī Lāl Bahādur Śāstrī Kendriya Saṅskrit Vidyāpīṭh, New Delhi, 1976

are a few norms which are classified as *śodhanavidhi*. I reproduce here their translation as given in Dānasāgara edited by Bhabatosh Bhattacharya:[30]

> 'Both the MSS, the model and the copy, should be compared and read out. The omission and repetition of letters and marks should be properly checked and the propriety of affixing *anusvāras* and *visargas* should also be considered in the context of subject-matter of the work and in view of the avoidance of tautology. The real intention of the author should be found out be means of the following particulars :
>
> The popular acceptation of the words, their appropriateness to the topic in question, consistency in the form of queries and replies among the aphorisms themselves and of the thesis as a whole, when not expressed in an aphoristic form, quotations made in full or simply referrred to, to elucidate the context, consideration of the proper import of a homonymous word, consistency with all other branches of learning without giving up the significance of the cases, and enquiry into the sense of an obscure word like 'carya' and consideration of the metrical requisites (in case of verses). An intelligent scribe should thus fully scrutinize both the MSS to arrive at the correct text.'

The copying of a text, as proposed in this passage, is quite an active work and even if its aim is surely that of arriving at the correct text of the previous passage, it may encourage also modifications or even new insertions. It should also be remembered, as it can be deduced both from the above quoted texts of the Nandi, Devī and Bhaviṣya Purāṇa-s and from the continuous insistence on copying even short *śloka-s*, that when a purāṇa or a passage thereof had to be recited for some occasion it was copied afresh. The same happened when a purāṇa or an *adhyāya* had to be read and commented in a school or in a sāṁpradāyika meeting or festival. It is not the place here to enter into details of transmission of the text which would imply the whole procedure of critical edition. While we keep that study for further writings, we should note

30. B. Bhattacharya, *Dānasāgara,* Bibliotheca Indica, Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 1953, p. LIX

already, to stick to our basic point here, that the purāṇa-s, surely from the XII A. D. onwards, were, in their transmission, and not improbably also in their new addions of new topics or *adhyāya*-s, handed over as written works. Yet this conclusion is only partial because there are examples where an oral transmission is not completely to be ruled out. This oral transmission can be restricted to one *śloka* or extended to a few *śloka-s* or even a long passage. Examples of the first kind are very numerous :

Śivadharma 5.14	Devanāgarī MS	स पच्यते महाघोरे
	Nevārī MS	पच्यते स महाघोरे
Śivadharma 5.67	Devanāgari MS	शिवाय चामरं दत्वा
	Nevārī MS	दद्याच्छिवाय चमरं (*sic*)
Garuḍa I. 111.12	Jīvānanda Ed.	भूतमृत्युच्छलेन
	Poona 1 MS	मृत्युभूतछलेन
Garuḍa II. 3.8	Jīvānanda Ed.	पुत्रा यस्य न विद्यन्ते
	Gaṅgadharaṇa Jhā Inst. MS	यस्या पुत्रा न विद्यन्ते

Such examples appear to be due to faults of memory more than any other cause, whatever was the process of copying that was involved.

An example of the second kind is the following question of the origin of the Kumbha parvan as quoted in Veṇīrāma Śarmā Gauḍa, *Kumbhaparva-māhātmya*,[31] which is said to belong to the Skanda Purāṇa, but which is not available in the printed editions of that purāṇa and about which the Pt Gauḍa himself asked by me purposely about the sources of his information, said that it was oral tradition.

The purāṇa-s, then, seem to reflect that kind of trasmission which is still so common nowadays. Such a transmission is a mixture of oral and written traditions : written, because the text to be transmitted is in most of the cases already written and had been composed as a written text, and oral, because a part of its text is learned by heart and is dictated or transcribed from memory. Every good brāhmaṇa was requested, and is still supposed, to learn by heart as many texts as possible.

31. Veṇīrāma Śarmā Gauḍa, *Kumbhaparva Māhātmya*, Kāśī, Saṁvat 2004 (=1947 A. D.), pp. 6-8

तिष्ठन्ति यस्य शास्त्राणि जिह्वाग्रे पृथिवीपते ।
दृष्टश्च गोचरस्तात कस्तेन सदृशो द्विजः ॥ (*Bhv* I. 216.97)

'O Lord of the earth, which *dvija* is similar to the one on whose tongue's tip are the *śāstra*-s ? (and has seen whatever can come under the senses ?)

As the purāṇa-s went on transforming along the centuries through the process of transmission and adaptation, the composition which took place just during the process of transmission is what constitutes basically our text at present; such a transmission/composition is, indeed, a mixture, but claims to be a written one as the texts on *vidyādāna* openly state.

2. Purāṇa-s containing Purāṇa-s

There are many expressions in the purāṇa-s which make us thoughtful about the kind of books we are reading, when we go through the purāṇic texts. The author of *Bhv* IV. 111.1 introduces Yudhiṣṭhira saying :

वर्णाश्रमाणां प्रभवः पुराणेषु मया श्रुतः ॥

'I heard the origin of *varṇa* and *āśrama* in the purāṇa-s.' In *B* 213 166 we read :

प्रादुर्भावाः पुराणेषु गीयन्ते ब्रह्मवादिभिः ॥

'The knowers of the highest knowledge sing in the purāṇa-s the manifestations (of the Lord).'

These and similar *śloka*-s refer to purāṇa-s[32] as works belonging to the past. Such phrases impress us by their frequency and by being present in almost all the purāṇa-s. These purāṇa-s spoken of are not the present ones but books of the past; they can be styled *ādipurāṇa*-s[33] or purāṇa-s of the ancient times and can be listed with the Veda-s and their *aṅga*-s.[34] The purāṇic texts sometimes give the words *puraṇeṣu* or *puraṇe* an oscillating meaning so as to imply the meaning of both 'in olden times' and 'in the texts called purāṇa-s'. More

32. See, for instance, *Pd* VI. 238. 12; *N* I.9.99; *K* II. 37.163; *Bv* II. 40.3; *B* 30.53; *Bḍ* I. 4.29; *Bhv* IV. 2.22 etc.

33. *Pd* V. 36.14

34. Cf *Vi* III. 3–6; *L* I. 39,53–70 etc.

often, however, the meaning is clear, leaving no doubt about the opinion of the authors : they want to refer to the purāṇa-s which existed before the time in which they are writing.

Besides, the authors of the actual purāṇa-s speak of 'purāṇic authors' as people different from themselves and belonging to the past :

अत्र वंशे पुराणज्ञा गायन्तीति परिश्रुतम् ॥

(*B* 15.41 cd.)[35]

'In this topic of *vaṁśa*, the knowers of antiquities have some songs, so it is renowned.'

Thus, on the one hand, the texts we possess claim to be purāṇa-s and so they have been accepted by tradition, and yet they claim to 'contain' purāṇa-s. On the other hand, their authors bear the names of Vyāsa, Sūta and other famous purāṇic persons and yet they refer to purāṇic authors as persons of the past. These two series of facts are not concentrated in one short specific purāṇic text or topic, for instance *purāṇotpatti* or the like, rather they are spread all over the purāṇic texts. The purāṇa-s, indeed, are compilations or *saṁhitā*-s of vedic *matra*-s, *gāthā*-s, ancient stories, and other books. The compilers, several times, make it known that they are taking the text or the inspiration from other sources :

अत्रैवोदाहरन्तीममितिहासं पुरातनम् । (*Pd* VI. 82.13)

'Here this ancient story is given by way of examplification'.

इमं चोदाहरन्त्यत्र श्लोकं पौराणिका द्विजाः ।

(*Bd* II. 63. 69, 113)[36]

'O *dvija*-s, the purāṇic authors bring this *śloka* as an example'. So the purāṇic authors did the work of compilation from ancient treatises purposely and it does not seem to be inappropriate to see in their purāṇa-s, parts of the ancient purāṇa-s.

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35. See the different names with which the ancient purāṇic authors are called in the extant purāṇa-s : *brahmavadin*, *K*. I. 27.4; *B* 213. 166, *Vy* I. 1. 27, 40; *purāṇavid*, *K* 213.15; *Bhv* IV. 25.1; 75.10; *purāṇārthavid*, *B* 175.4; *purāṇajña* *B* 15.41; *Bd* I. 2.45; *Pd* IV. 111.3, 7, 37ff; *Vy* I. 1.25; *paurāṇika*, *Pd* IV.110.420; 111.6; *Bd* II. 60.69; 63.168 etc.

36. Cf also *Bhv* IV. 75.18; 192.2; *Pd* VI. 70.13; 81.15 etc.

Besides long passages of ancient purāṇa-s, or other works, or isolated *śloka*-s or *mantra*-s, our actual texts have also a good amount of formulas which are repeated all along the purāṇic text. As such a process of introducing formulas in a text is still used nowadays in modern compositions, it is worth taking as an example a modern book. The booklet we want to take as a model is श्रीगंगोत्तरीक्षेत्रमाहात्म्यम् written by Svāmin Tapovanam[37] in Sanskrit with a Hindi translation, in the purāṇic style of the *māhātmya*-s with which it can be compared. Besides the main text, the book contains also a *Śrīgaṅgāstotram* and a *Śrīgaṅgāsahasranāmastotram*. The book does not present any special interest except that it is done a little better than the average of its kind and it is written in Sanskrit by a known *svāmin*. It is studied here for its similarities with the booklets of this kind available at any tīrtha.

Even a cursory reading of the text reveals the indebtedness of Svāmin Tapovanam to purāṇic matter and style. The booklet is a *māhātmya* and it is written as any other purāṇic magnification, so widely spread in the purāṇa-s. What deserves special attention are the numerous expressions which the booklet has in common with the purāṇic texts. A few examples are given below :

श्रीगंगोत्तरीक्षेत्रमाहात्म्यम्		**Purāṇas**
1. त्रिषु लोकेषु विश्रुतम्	1.12 (p. 19)	*Vy* I. 117; *N* I. 8. 137; *Bḍ* I. 25. 98; *Bhv.* I. 216. 175; IV. 150. 2.
2. तुष्टाव च पुनः पुनः	1.9 (p. 19)	*Bv.* II. 10.8, 10; III. 3.25.54
3. धन्योऽसि कृतकृत्योऽसि	1.11 (p. 19)	*N* II. 38. 50; 42. 1; *BrdN* 1. 55; *Pd* VI. 90. 40; *Bhv* I. 153. 88
4. गंगातीरेनिवासश्च	1.26 (p. 23)	*N* II. 38. 44
5. दर्शनात् स्पर्शनात् स्नानात्	2.76 (p. 57)	*N* II. 39. 11-12
6. तीर्थानामपि तीर्थमुत्तममिदम्	*śl* 9 (p. 71)	*Bhv* IV. 13. 3
7. साक्षाद्विष्णुपदोद्भवम्	*śl* 9 (p. 71)	*N* I. 6. 13
8. या देवि ब्रह्मरूपेण संस्थिता etc.	*śl* 1-9 (p. 102)	fully inspired by *Mk.* 85. 7-32

37. स्वामी तपोवनम्, श्री गंगोत्तरीक्षेत्रमाहात्म्यम्, सेंट्रल चिन्मय मिशन ट्रष्ट, बम्बई, १९७७

These and similar formulas were composed and written by Tapovanam, who was strongly influenced by the purāṇa-s, which he had surely read and heard. It is very improbable that he copied these expressions from the purāṇa-s directly; he most probably had them in his mind and used them because they were fitting his purpose and gave to his composition the flavour of a puranic *māhātmya*. Such formulas formed his luggage of knowledge not because he was a bard but because he was acquainted with the purāṇic literature which contained—in a written form—those expressions.[38] On the other hand when he wrote his booklet he was not directly influenced by them, most probably, in the sense that he did not copy them from a written text. Moreover, even his knowledge of the purāṇa-s could have reached him both orally by listening to them and/or through writing by reading. So here we have an example of mixed influence, oral and written, from which no conclusion can be drawn whether the formulas, used by him, were previously written or oral. This modern example is probably similar to what used to happen in the past, at least at the time of the composition of the purāṇic texts we possess now. Thousands of Svāmin Tapovanas must have existed, who composed—without leaving their names--the different *māhātmya*-s, collecting matter from previous texts and adding something of their own while keeping the purāṇic style by using the same kinds of purāṇic expressions slightly modified according to necessity and personal likings. The hundred of *vrata*-s, *māhātmya*-s *pañcakrośī*-s etc. still available in MS form have most probaly the same origin.

This process of composition still visible nowadays should make us cautious in deducing hasty conclusions about the oral or written composition of the purāṇic texts in the past. The formulaic style of the purāṇa-s, even if it proved to be more abundant than it appears prima facie, is not a convincing proof that the purāṇa-s were originally oral compositions.

Besides the formulas of the ancient purāṇa-s, the more recent texts may contain also the same topics as the olden works or may add new subjects. The booklet of Svāmin Tapovanam contains,

38. See, on the contrary, what P. L. Vaidya says in the quoted Introduction to the Harivaṁśa (above fn. 12)

indeed, the ancient themes of *tīrthamāhātmya* having Brahmā, Narada, the *muni*-s etc. as interlocutors and yet it describes a place--Uttarākāśī—which is almost unknown to purāṇic literature. Svāmin Tapovanam does not say from where he has taken his material, whether from oral tradition, or from written compositions, or from his own mind. By the very fact that he claims to be the author of the text, it is supposed that the text is fruit of his mind or, at least, so he thought. The purāṇic authors, by tradition, never used to put their names and so this external means to discover the fatherhood of a passage is wanting. Sometimes, however, we discover a purāṇa copying from another, as *Pd* V. 6-13; 20-24; 36-43 copying *Mt* 5-24; 43-47; or we are openly told that an addition is made, as in *Pd* VI. 219.23.[39]

Some body, impressed by this tendency of the extant purāṇa-s for copying, has affirmed that the original purāṇic literature available in the extant purāṇa-s is very little. If we removed what is repeated in different purāṇa-s, it has been affirmed, we would remain with a very small number of original verses. Although the observation may be true, it would be wrong to deprive a purāṇa of the passages it has in common with another text with the pretext that they are not its original or ancient passages. Each of the extant purāṇa-s, as it is, has its own unity and structure which makes it unique, although built up with parts available also in other books. Modern examples can be instructive in this case also. The booklet श्री गंगा गंगोत्री माहात्म्य[40], for instance, which is taken here because it is in connection with the previous one, is formed of different parts, taken from different booklets and systematized by Baba Bhambul Nath. The booklet, in Sanskrit with a translation in Hindi, contains a short narration of the descent of Gaṅgā from heaven, a hymn in Hindi to the holy river, *adh.* I. 1-79 in Sanskrit

39. Several examples can be seen in R. C. Hazra, ***Studies in the Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs,*** The University of Dacca, Dacca, 1940, passim.

40. श्री गंगोत्री माहात्म्य, संग्रहकर्त्ता बाबा भम्भूल नाथ, अर्जुन सिंह बुकसेलर, हरिद्वार, no date. The work is a specimen of a kind of popular religious booklets which aim only at helping pilgrims and do not care for contradictions, imperfections, and carelessness.

of Tapovana's book mentioned before with some modifications,[41] a Gaṅgālaharī, and two short hymns in Hindi. The booklet, which is a compilation from different sources--its author is called *saṁgrahakartā* on the inner page title--is a kind of prayer book for pilgrims and as such has its value, which is not to be judged from its originality or from the beauty of the single pieces of composition but by the general scope and the unity of the different pieces. The purāṇa-s we possess seem to have been composed by a similar process, although they were not new compositions, as the above mentioned ***Śrīgaṅgāgaṅgotrīmāhātmya*** and they are surely of a better quality and larger scope than this booklet. The Pretakalpa mentioned at the beginning can be a work composed in this way, not by a single author but by several subsequent authors. The Skanda, the Padma, the Bhaviṣya Purāṇa-s have also probably such an origin in their present form. By reading R. C. Hazara's *Studies in the Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs*, one gets the impression that such a way of composing the purāṇa-s must have been quite common; the name *saṁhitā*, very often applied to the purāṇas[42], fits them well and defines really their very nature.

3. Vidhis : Rules of Recitation

The purāṇa-s were composed to be recited or read, as it has been affirmed previously, but such a statement would be a truism if it were not specified what is meant by that. The purāṇa-s are surely to be read as it is apparent from the very fact that they have been written, but it should be added that the purport of the purāṇic recitation is not confined to a private reading. It is rather through a public and solemn recitation that the purāṇa-s fulfill their scope. Even the private recitation is regulated by norms, because the rules or ***vidhi***-s given in the purāṇa-s have the nature of a liturgical regulation. From the frequency with which our texts insist on the recitation according to rules, one gets the impression that the purāṇa-s are not private works for private

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41. *śloka*-s 34-35 of Tapovana's work are omitted; the Sanskrit form Gaṅgottarī is modified throughout into the more popular Gaṅgotri.

42. see *Bḍ* II. 34.21; *Vy* I. 60.21; *Vi* III. 6.15; *N* I. 1.16; II. 82 35; ***Pd*** II 125.38; ***L*** I 1.11; ***Sk*** VII. 1.1.4, 30, etc.

persons but rather compositions to be recited in a well-regulated way. Such an insistance on the necessity of following *vidhi*-s is spread all over the purāṇa-s :

भगवान् केनं विधिना श्रोतव्यं भारतं नरैः ।
चरितं रामभद्रस्य पुराणानि विशेषतः ॥ (*Bhv* I. 216.36)[43]

'O Lord, what is the '*vidhi*' with which men have to hear the Mahābhārata, the deeds of Rāma and especially the purāṇa-s?'

श्रवणस्य विधानं च कथयामि शुभं श्रृणु ॥ (*Pd* IV. 111. 21 cd)[44]

'Pay attention, I will tell you the meritorious way of listening.'

अष्टादशपुराणानि यः श्रृणोति नरोत्तमः ।
कथयेद्वा विधानेन नेह भूयः स जायते ॥ (*N* I. 109.39)[45]

'He who listens to, or narrates the eighteen purāṇa-s following the norms, is the best man and will never be reborn again on this earth.'

Sk II. 2.49. 4 claims that the whole Skanda Purāṇa (Vaiṣṇava Khaṇḍa) has been narrated *yathāvidhi* and the Garuḍa Purāṇa (Jīvānanda Edition) concludes the Ācārakhaṇḍa with :

पुराणं गारुडं प्रोक्तं विधिनापि मया तव ॥ (229.30)

'I have narrated to you the Garuḍa Purāṇa and the norms (of recitation)'.

Such being the general attitude of the purāṇa-s, it is not surprising that some purāṇic authors felt the necessity of dwelling at length on the rules of listening to and reciting the purāṇa-s.

The texts dealing with the *vidhi*-s of purāṇic recitation can be grouped into three series : the first is the most recent, apparently, and it is formed by the *purāṇamāhātmya*-s available in *Sk* II, *Pd* VI, *Ś*, *DBhg* as well as in some printed editions of the Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata.[46] These *māhātmya-s* are rich in

43. Cf also *Sk* II. 2.49; *Mg* IX. 18.18
44. Cf *Sk* II. 2.49.42; *Bhv* II. 1.7.2
45. Cf *N* I. 125.41
46. See *Sk* II. 6 which is a Śrībhāgavata-purāṇa māhātmya in 4 *adhyāya*-s ; *Pd* VI. 189-194 : which is a Bhāgavata-purāṇa māhātmya in 6 *adhyāya*-s. The Śivapurāṇa māhātmya in 7 *adhyāya*-s is printed at the beginning of the

details about the *vidhi*-s. They treat of the days fit for purāṇic recitation, the appropriate places, the ritual, the *vācaka* and *vyākhyātṛ*, the reciter and the commentator, etc., they even trouble to mention how listeners should be arranged during recitation. The whole picture that appears from these *purāṇamāhātmya*-s resembles the modern recitations of the purāṇic texts. Daily recitation or recitations of nine or seven days, as decribed in our texts, are still used at present. From this it appears that the purāṇic tradition, that was fixed a few centuries ago is still followed nowadays, with only minor variations. The purāṇa-s, of course, are not manuals of rituals, they give only the general lines of the rites to be performed. Rituals for the use of *purohita*-s are fully described in *paddhati*-s. Such *paddhati*-s, based mainly on the purāṇa-s, may be different from place to place.

There are instances, however, in which the purāṇa-s are completely silent about *vidhi*-s, such is the case with the *Durgāsaptaśatī* or the *Devīmāhātmya* of the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa,[47] which is very often recited but the ritual of which, available in popular books, is not described in the purāṇa-s.

The second series of texts dealing with *vidhi*-s is rather large. The texts of such a series are fully incorporated in the body itself of the purāṇa-s. They are long, although not having the length of the previous ones; they are, moreover, discrepant from them, and not matching among themselves; they seem to reflect different situations of time and places.

Śiva Purāṇa in the Veṅkaṭeśvara Press edition; according to the colophons it belongs to the *Sk*, Sanatkumārasaṁhitā, but it is not available in the printed editions of the Skanda Purāṇa. The Devī Bhāgavata Māhatmya in 5 *adhyāya*-s, which is printed at the beginning of the Mor and other editions, claims to belong to *Sk*, Mānasakhaṇḍa, which is not available in the printed editions of the Skanda Purāṇa. The Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa, printed by Chowkhamba Vidyā Bhavan, Vārāṇasī, 1957 contains a Vālmīkirāmāyaṇa māhātmya in 5 *adhyāya*-s. The colophons of the *māhātmya* attribute it to *Sk*, Uttarakhaṇḍa. The Mahābhārata printed by the Gītā Press, Gorakhpur, no date, contains also a Mahābhāratamāhātmya in one *adhyāya* along with a Mahābhārataśravaṇavidhi also in one *adhyāya*. Both the *adhyāya*-s do not have colophon.

47. *Mk* 81-93

As such *N* I. 92-108; *Mt* 53; *A* 272 and *Sk* VII.1.2 are mainly concerned with the month in which a purāṇa has to be recited, the gifts related to such a recitation and the results. From the similarity of all these texts it appears that what they describe, although it is not followed nowadays, was traditional in the time of their composition.

Pd IV. 109 insists mainly on veneration of ***purāṇajña***-s.

Pd IV. 111 puts at the centre of its attention the ***vyākhātṛ*** and the ***vyākhyā***.

Pd IV. 100 is concentrated on the ***pustaka*** and its reading and copying for specific purpose, like ***śakuna***.

Sk II. 1.49 and *Bhv* I. 216 are more general and describe at length all the details of the ritual for recitation and listening to purāṇa-s.

Bhv II. 1.7 contains interesting hints about the writing of the purāṇa-s, the forms of the ***pustaka*** and its parts, singing, clear pronunciation etc ; while *Bhv* II. 1.8 speaks of a ***vyākhyānasaṁgraha***.

Each text of this series, then, adds something to the others and it may reflect the usage proper to a particular area or period. What is described in this second series of texts is different from what is said in the first one and probably this series is older than the former and witnesses to the continuity of the custom of hearing or reciting the purāṇa-s according to fixed rules or ***vidhi***-s.

The third series of texts is largely spread all over the purāṇa-s, each text giving only hints to those rules which pertain to the recitation. Any time we read at the end of a ***kathā***, ***vrata***, ***stotra*** or even ***suci*** : यो....पठेत्....शृणुयात्....or the like, we are transported back to a religious way of reciting and listening to the purāṇa-s. Apparently, then, the habit of having ***vidhi***-s for recitation goes back to the very beginning of purāṇic literature. In fact, hints about the ***vidhi***-s are available also in the oldest purāṇa-s. From all this we can conclude that from a certain moment in the purāṇic evolution—if not since the beginning—the purāṇa-s were meant to be recited in religious celebrations following fixed rules or ***vidhi***-s. Such ***vidhi***-s were modified along the centuries but their existence goes back to very old times. The Purāṇa-s are not inno-

vative in this field, they are, rather, inside a wide-spread tradition which goes back to the veda-s, the Buddhists, the tantra-s etc. and continues with modern movements, like Sikhism. From this point of view also, it appears that the purāṇa-s are not private books, but rather 'liturgical' texts, for the way of reading, reciting, listening to, singing, copying them etc. is regulated by the purāṇic texts themselves, i. e., it is not left to private initiative, even when the purāṇa-s are to be recited privately. They are public religious books, which are often used for specific public rituals, as consultation of *śakuna*, or *vrata*-s, for private or public prayer, so their transmission also was under control of those who regulated the *vidhi*-s. From the moment the recitation of the purāṇa-s took place according to the *vidhi*-s, any change which took place in the purāṇa-s, whether it was done by an individual or by a group, did not take place without the silent approval of those who had to read the purāṇa-s according to the rules. This is equal to saying that no change in the purāṇa-s is the result of private initiative, even if the new additions or suppressions were operated by an individual or by the will of one individual, king, *mahanta* or the like. The final responsibility for the changes in the purāṇa-s rests with those who were responsible for their 'liturgical' performance. Who these persons were, is still a matter of research, but the presence of *sādhusammela*[48] during purāṇic recitation and other hints gathered from previous research make us convinced that we are not far from the truth if we consider the *sampradāya*-s as the final source, responsible for all such purāṇic transformations.

4. Vyā khyātṛ-s : the exposers

The *vidhi*-s give great stress to the narrator or reciter of the purāṇa-s, who is called *purāṇajña*, *paurāṇika*, *vyāsa*, *vyākhyātṛ* etc. Although the terms are eventually all synonymous, they have their own peculiarities, two of which deserve particular attention namely *vyāsa* and *vyākhyātṛ*.

For *Bhv.* I. 216.100-101, *Vyāsa* is the speaker or the reciter who speaks out the *granthārtha* to Brāhmaṇa-s and the others. He has his own particular seat or *āsana* called *vyāsapīṭha* (śl. 49) and is the one who has the task of explaining the purāṇa-s. This interpretation of the role of Vyāsa as an expositor, and the absence of

48. Śmāh. 6.2

the role of Sūta in this *adhyāya* 216 put the *adhyāya* at a rather recent date. Nowadays, *Vyāsa*-s are those persons who explain the Rāmāyaṇa and the purāṇa-s, and are different from those who read only the texts according to the *vidhi*-s, mentioned above, during the liturgical performance. The modern *Vyāsa*-s, indeed, have the role of *vyākhyātṛ*-s, the latter being a term which is no longer used. This term, as well as its related *vyākhyā* (*vyākhātum*) particularly common in *Pd* IV. 111, but dispersed everywhere in the purāṇa-s, deserves some attention :

पुराणमेकं मे तात व्याख्यातुं भगवानिति ॥ (*Pd* IV. 110. 479 ab)

Indeed, if the *vyākhyātṛ* is satisfied, Maheśa is also pleased, Viṣṇu gives his fruit and the *pitṛ*-s reach *paramā gati* (*sl.* 485f). The *vyākhyātṛ* has to be honoured with clothes, scent, flowers etc. He is one of the *purāṇajña*-s, who are to be venerated and treated with great respect.

> 'His work is indispensable in our days because nobody knows the purāṇa-s except him', (*Pd* IV . III. 41)

and because the *vipra*-s are now no longer up to the mark :

कलौ समस्तविप्राणां सर्वज्ञत्वं न विद्यते ।
विगुणाऽपि ततो व्याख्या फलदा दानकर्मवत् ॥

(*Pd* IV. 111. 40)

What the *Vyāsa*-s and the others have said and written in Sanskrit, he explains in local language after due consideration.[49] Thus, the role of the *vyākhyātṛ* becomes a central one; he is between the text in Sanskrit and the people who, evidently, need explanations in their own mother tongue. He is in the ideal position for introducing into the text, or for being used by kings and others for introducing, what is considered suitable, and can display to the people the fruits of his thoughts (*vicārana*-s) :

शनैः शनैः पठेत्प्राज्ञो व्याख्यास्येच्च शनैः शनैः ।
....विविच्य पाठं श्लोकस्य निश्चित्यार्थं च मानसे ॥

> 'Let the wise (man) read slowly and slowly comment on it,.... after having split the reading of the *śloka* and having given it a meaning in his mind.'

49. Cf *Pd* IV. 111. 63-65

The role of these *vyākhyātṛ-s*, which is described at length in *Pd* IV 111, seems to be similar to the role of many purāṇic authors. It is known that the purāṇa-s have usually no commentaries, except *Bhg.*, *V.*, *L.*, parts of *Mk.*, and *Sk.* IV.[50] This lack of *ṭīkā-s* may be due to several factors, the most important of which appears to be the facility of these texts. Another and surely deeper reason is that the purāṇa-s went on changing, remaining always understandable to people of different periods and places The role of the *vyākhyātṛ* makes us suspect another reason for the lack of purāṇic commentaries; the nature itself of the purāṇa-s permitted the introduction of the needed explanations in the text itself through the *Vyāsa*-s and especially the *vyākhyātṛ*-s who could then translate them and comment upon them to the people. The numerous texts of *vrata*-s, *māhātmya*-s, *stotra*-s etc. still available in MS form only and claiming to be attached to one purāṇa or the other, could have been composed by such a class of persons, as well as by intelligent *paṇḍā*-s, *mahanta*-s or famous *paṇḍita*-s. The composition of the whole *Kṛṣṇajanmakhaṇḍa* of the Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa has been attributed to Rūpa Gosvāmin by the Bhaviṣya Purāṇa (III. 4.19.39). Even if this may not be true, the purāṇic author of the Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa considered it possible, and this appears a sufficient proof that similar cases of additions by famous (or less famous) persons could take place and the Purāṇa-s do not conceal the fact.

Pd IV. 110.417 ff refer the case of someone who, while listening to the recitation of a purāṇic passage under a *maṇḍapa* at a street crossing, asks for a few explanations about its meaning, but, as he is not fully satisfied with the answer given by the *paurāṇika*, since the purāṇic explanations differ from one another (*puraṇabhedena, śl.* 426), he insists on his queries after due pondering (*cintayan*) and the *paurāṇika* has to prolong a little his explanations. This passage seems to suggest that people by their curiosity and inquisitiviness could be one of the propelling reasons for the enlargement of the purāṇa-s. The mention of a *vyākhyānasaṁgraha* in *Bhv.* II. I.8 may suggest that such a practice of questioning the *paurāṇika*-s was common to the point that

50 The comments of the *Mk* refer to Devīmāhātmya only, namely *adhs* 81-93. For the *Sk*, the comments are on Kāśī Khaṇḍa only.

'manuals' of answers were prepared, perhaps for the less educated or less prepared *vyākhyātṛ*-s (cf. *paurāṇikakathāyuktapustaka* also in *Bhv* II. 1.7.68). The process which seems to have taken place in the formation of the Pretakalpa/Sāroddhāra which we have mentioned in the beginning, is an example of what we are considering in this paragraph.

R. C. Hazra has shown abundantly how *saṁpradāya*-s transformed purāṇic texts to the point where a vaiṣṇava purāṇa like the Kūrma could become a śaiva purāṇa, or large passages of different *saṁpradāya*-s could be introduced although not completely matching with the general context, as happened in the Varāha Purāṇa.[51] The additions of the Bhaviṣya Purāṇa, which scholars labelled in the past as false,[52] appear, indeed, not to be different from the pattern always followed by the purāṇa-s along the centuries. It is only because the true nature of the purāṇa-s was not taken into consideration that such severe, and unjust, statements could be pronounced against the purāṇic texts. The *Vyāsa*-s and the *vyākhyātṛ*-s, i. e., the *paurāṇika*-s in general, were entitled, apparently, to modify the text, although we do not know under which circumstances they could do it. What we read in the Nandi Purāṇa, available partially also in Devi and Bhaviṣya Purāṇa-s furnishes a concrete suggestion, but nothing more than that.

5. The Last Stage of the purāṇa-s

It has already appeared in the previous pages that in many instances the purāṇic authors did not conceal the process of modification which took place in their works, they rather built a whole theory about the purāṇic nature so as to justify the mobility of their texts. From this perspective it is difficult to accept what S. M. Katre[53] wrote : Here (i. e. in secular and popular literature)

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51. See R. C. Hazra, *Purāṇic Records....*, pp. 57-75 for the Kūrma Purāṇa and pp. 96-107 for the Varāha Purāṇa.

52. See, for instance, M. Winternitz, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, vol. I, Calcutta, 1963, p. 497; F. E. Pargiter, *The Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*, Varanasī, 1962 (2nd ed.), pp. XXVIII, cf also pp. V, VII-VIII, XIII; P. V. Kane. *History of Dharmaśāstra*, vol. V, Poona, 1962 pp. 896-897 etc.

53. S. M. Katre, *Introduction to Indian Textual Criticism*, Poona, 1954, p. 14

the texts were certainly exposed to numerous disfigurements, since every teacher or reciter considered himself entitled to alter and to improve, to omit and to add, *ad libitum*, and textual criticism here faces a difficult and often impossible task when it desires to restore their texts to their oldest or original form ' These words fail to understand the nature of the purāṇa-s, which are first of all religious texts and not secular, and secondly that they were modified not '*ad libitum*', i. e., according to private whim but in the light and under the thrust of *saṁpradāya*-s and almost always openly, not surreptitiously. Thus to aim at restoring the 'oldest or original form' of the purāṇa-s misses the real point : the purāṇa-s, indeed, are both the 'original' texts *and* the extant texts. Not only this, but in the logic of texts which have changing as their very nature, the latest form is more important than the previous or ancient one, even though the historical bearing is naturally different and the oldest aspect may be more attractive than the recent one. The several attempts to fix a purāṇic canon[54] show that the purāṇic authors positively wanted the text of their age to be accepted as authoritative. It is exactly such a repetition of attempts which proves that the purāṇa-s have a multi-authenticity, each purāṇic text of each age being authoritative for that particular period. For us, then, authoritative is the extant text, composite as it might be, i. e., made of many different layers, belonging to different periods. The latest, and probably the final stage, of the purāṇa-s, then, is what should be taken as the starting text for any critical edition or any research. For this purpose the most important is not the oldest but the latest. We have surely to purify the system of Nilakaṇṭha followed in his edition of the Mahābhārata, however, for the system of 'inclusion' may not be so sound as it leads to syncretism. The *Nibandhakāra*-s also were very careful in defining what purāṇa-s had to be in order to be accepted as authoritative, and sometimes, like in the case of Ballālasena, they discarded the long, and apparently traditional, version of a purāṇa. Yet the extant texts of the purāṇa-s are reasonably the ones to be considered canonic for the present generation. As the purāṇa-s seem to have stopped developing

54. For the problem of purāṇic canon and its implications see *Purāṇa*, XXI. 2 (July, 1979), pp. 116-166, and XXII. 1 (Jan. 1980), pp. 33-60

we may be fairly sure that our work on such texts will remain unaltered. A. S. Gupta [55] wrote : 'Such timely additions made by the compilers or the redactors should, therefore, be considered as the great merit of the Purāṇas and should be treated as the valuable literary treasure worthy to be preserved, and should not be discarded, unless there are very strong grounds for their exclusion, or unless they are proved as interpolated by the whims of some scribes or readers and reciters'. From what we have been saying until now we can fully agree with the idea that such 'timely additions' are to be kept, but I would further specify the reason for such a preservation as given by A. S. Gupta : we have to keep the additions not only because they are 'valuable literary treasure' but, and mainly, because we have to be honest to the nature of the purāṇa-s, i. e., for a kinds of scholarly coherence. The purāṇic authors wanted to give us the books we now possess and they claimed that such text are authoritative; we have no right to cut their text, neither for a scholarly nor for a religious reason. We betray our duty as researchers if we go against the clear intentions of the authors who wrote the passages we are examining and betray the nature of the texts we are studying. A. S. Gupta rightly adds that we have to remove from our texts a passage which is proved to be 'interpolated by the whims of some scribes or readers and reciters.'

We know that additions, changes, remotions etc. were most probably very often done under the inspiration of *saṁpradāya-s*, which were developing in the course of time. It is this guarantee that makes a change of some importance in the purāṇa-s acceptable and authoritative. Only if it is proved that the modification took place by private inspiration we are fully entitled to remove it, or if it is the clear result of a mistake in trasmission. We should add that such modifications operated by *saṁpradāya*-s were not always necessarily additions, but could also be removals or substitutions. [56] This means that the shortest text is not always

55. See *The Vāmana Purāṇa*, Critically edited by A. S. Gupta, All-India Kashiraj Trust, Vārānasi, 1968, Introduction, p XIX
56. See, for instance, how the purāṇic authors present new or old matters sometimes *samāsāt* and sometimes *vistarāt*. Cf *Mt* 2.24; 53.1; 140.83; 178.1; *Bhv* I. 6.1; 27.1; IV. 5.84; *A* 37.1; *B* 45.4; 58.9; 176.36; *Vi* II. 2.4; 5.1; *Vr* 209.95; *Bv* II. 2.1; 48.11; *Vy* 57.1; *Bḍ* I. 1.1. 168-169 etc.

the oldest, the opposite can be equally possible. Moreover, both the long and the short form might be on equal footing as far as their authority is concerned. It is not the time now to enter into the details of a 'critical' edition. It is enough to point out that the role of *saṁpradāya*-s is determinative for deciding the value of a passage in the purāṇa-s. A. S. Gupta[57] justifies the acceptance of 27 *adhyāya*-s, although available only in few MSS, in the critical edition of the Vāmana Purāṇa as 'it would not be safe to exclude' them for the 'uncertainty about the exact nature of the extent of the Vām.-P. text in South-India.' To this argument we could add the one mentioned above, namely that an addition, available in a large area, cannot be the fruit of the whim of a single scribe or reader or reciter. The very fact of having been accepted by many MSS, such passages can be considered authoritative and that is a sufficient reason to accept them also in our critical edition. This procedure, indeed, is in tune with the nature of the purāṇic literature.

The title given to this article might have led some to think that the stages of composition, transmission and recitation in the purāṇa-s, were three clearly distinct moments of purāṇic formation. In reality, it has been shown that, as in most cases of oral traditions, the three processes are very often intermingled. The purāṇa-s, moreover, while apparently following rules more proper to oral tradition, are written texts; in them the two trends of oral and written formation and transmission are interwoven and are not always clearly distinguishable. This nature of the purāṇa-s makes their critical editing particularly complex, as neither the principles of the critical editions developed in the last century can be applied to them, as the purāṇas partake also of the nature of oral literature nor can the principles of publishing oral texts, namely each one published separately, be followed, as the purāṇas share also the nature of written compositions. On the other hand the fact of having been considered as revealed and authoritative makes each purāṇic addition meaningful, such that it cannot be removed merely out of an historical consideration of posteriority. All these problems stand before anyone who wants to study the

57, See *The Vāmana Purāṇa*, Critically edit; Introduction, p. XIX.

purāṇas. Most probably their solutions will not be monopolized by a single theory, as the purāṇa-s cannot be reduced to a single trend, but any answer to the problems posed by the purāṇa-s will have to be based on their very nature The more we know of the purāṇa-s, the more we shall have in our hands the instruments for analysing and understanding them.

Abbreviations

A	=	Agni (Chowkhamba Ed.)
K	=	Kūrma (Crit.)
G	=	Garuḍa (J.vānanda)
N	=	Nārada (Veṅk)
P	=	Padma (ASS)
B	=	Brahma (Mor Ed)
Bḍ	=	Brahmāṇḍa (Veṅk)
Bhg	=	Bhāgavata (G.tā Press)
Bv	=	Brahmavaivarta (ASS)
DBhg	=	Devi Bhāgavata (Mor Ed.)
Bhv	=	Bhaviṣya (Veṅk).
Mt	=	Matsya (Jīv.)
Mg	=	Mudgala (Bombay)
Mk	=	Mārkaṇḍeya (Jīv.)
L	=	Liṅga (Mor Ed.)
Vm	=	Vāmana (Crit.)
Vi	=	Viṣṇu (Gītā Press)
Vy	=	Vāyu (Veṅk)
Vr	=	Varāha (Crit)
Ś	=	Śiva (Veṅk.)
Sk	=	Skanda (Veṅk)
BṛdN	=	Bṛhad Nārad.ya (Chowk. Ed)

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE PURĀṆIC AND EPIGRAPHIC DATA RELATING TO THE MAGHA DYNASTY

By

ANAMIKA ROY

The Purāṇic line under examination occurs in the Vaṁśānucarita section and has its reference to Megha dynasty[1], which is also spelt as Medhya or Medhātithi in a few oopies.[2] The term however, occurs in the majority of the Purāṇa-texts, and has been accordingly reconstructed by Pargiter in his work 'Purāṇa-Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age.'[3] The said line

1. The' line occurs in Vāyu Purāṇa, XCIX. 373-382; Brahmāṇḍa, Purāṇa, III. 74. 186-193; Viṣṇu Purāṇa, IV. 24. 17-18; Bhāgavata XII. 1.34-37. The Matsya Purāṇa does not notice this line, and as a matter of fact the account of the Matsya Purāṇa ends with the downfall of the Āndhras in about 236 A. D. According to the analysis of Pargiter no manuscript of the Matsya Purāṇa contains anything later. In view of this, one may be justified in stating that the Matsya Purāṇa has preserved an early draft of the Vaṁśānucarita. and may, therefore, be dated earlier than the rest of the four Purāṇas.
2. The term Medhya occurs in manuscript No. 1310 of Vāyu Purāṇa preserved in the India Office Library. It is purely modern and is full of mistakes. The term is read as Medhātithi in the Ānandāśrama edition of Vāyu Purāṇa. (For a comprehensive discussion of all these manuscripts see Pargiter, 'Purāṇa-Text of the Dynasties of The KaḷiAge, pp. XXXII ff.)
3. Another important tribe which has been mentioned in the present line is that of the *Puṣyamitras* of the Mekalā region. In its light, Fleet made an attempt to restore the missing word of the Bhitari Pillar Inscription and propounded the theory that Skandagupta had to conquer this tribe in his mission to re-establish the fallen fortunes of his family (Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol. III, pp. 54-55). Fleet's theory has not received general recognition and other suggestions have also been made for restoring the missing word of the Bhitari Pillar Inscription. Among the important substitutes are *Yudhyamitra*, (H.R. Divekar, Annals of the Bhandarkar

states that nine rulers will flourish in the concerned dynasty, who will be reputed for their valour and intellect. Their territory is designated as Kosalā,[4] which is apparently a mistake for Kosala. The chronological table of the Purāṇa-dynasties prepared by Pargiter places these rulers in the 3rd century A. D.

The object of the present note is to ascertain as to how far the Purāṇic evidence is in tune with the epigraphic and numismatic evidences, especially in respect of the following aspects :

(1) Name of the dynasty referred to as Megha in the Purāṇic passage;

(2) Number of the rulers stated to be nine in the Purāṇic passage;

(3) Period of the rulers in question, who according to the calculation chart of Pargiter flourished in the 3rd century A. D.

(4) Territorial jurisdiction of the rulers stated to be Kosalā or Kosala in the Purāṇic passage.

Coming to the first aspect it would be worthwhile to notice that the name Megha is very much akin to Magha associated with the names of the rulers mentioned in the epigraphic and numismatic records. The term 'Magha' figures so very prominently in these non-Purāṇic pieces of evidence that some scholars are inclined to think that the founder of the dynasty was known as Magha,[5] which became a dynastic designation in the subsequent stages. In this respect, the case is parallel to the Gupta-dynasty, the founder

Research Institute, 1918-20, Vol. I, pp. 99-103) and *rāṣṭramitra* (U. Thakur, Some Aspects of Ancient Indian History and Culture, p. 27). The book has been reviewed in the Indian Historical Review, July 1975, Vol. II, No. 1 by Prof. B.N.S. Yadava, who points out the inconsistancy contained in Thakur's theory.

4. *Kosalāyāṁ tu rājāno bhaviṣyanti mahābalāḥ*
Meghā iti samākhyātā buddhimanto navaiva tu.

5. Recently Dr. A. M. Shastry has examined a large number of Magha coins from Kauśāmbī. One of these coins reads Magha. According to the observation of Dr. Shastry the said coin is quite significant for the reconstruction of the history of the Magha-dynasty. The term Magha possibly signified the name of the progenitor of the family; Kauśāmbī Hoard of Magha Coins, Nagpur, 1979, pp. 41-42

of which is supposed to have Gupta for his name.[6] Since there is no doubt about the reading Magha in the available epigraphic and numismatic inscriptions, it would be interesting to make an investigation of the factor which was responsible for a different spelling in the Purāṇa-passage. Would it be possible to argue that the original reading even of the Purāṇa-passage was Magha, and it was erroneously read as Megha by the later copyist? The present query thus reopens a fundamental problem of Purāṇic studies, viz, the original script of the dynastic account of the Purāṇas. Pargiter was of the definite opinion that originally the account had been prepared in the Kharoṣṭhī script.[7] It is not our purpose to discuss in detail the original script of the account. But the fact has to be emphasized in the spirit of the present note that the confusion between the reading Megha for Magha was possible only in Brāhmī and not in Kharoṣṭhī. The point can be illustrated in the light of the following chart :

Forms of 'Ma' in Brāhmī

3rd cent. B. C. 𑀫

2nd cent. B. C. 𑀫

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6. The versified version of the account which is preserved in the Vayu and Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇas makes explicit reference to the fact that the rulers enjoying all these territories, namely, along the Ganges, Prayāga, Sāketa and Magadha were descendants of Gupta (*anugaṅgaṁ Prayāgaṁ ca Sāketaṁ Magadhāṁstathā etāñjanapadān sarvān bhokṣyante Guptavaṁśajāḥ*). No such conclusion can be drawn on the basis of the prose-form of the account preserved in the texts of the Viṣṇu Purāṇa and the Bhāgavata. The former reads '*anugaṅgā Prayāgaṁ Māgadhā Guptāśca bhokṣyanti*'. None of these two texts seems to have any allusion to the progenitor of the Gupta family, term '*Guptavaṁśajāḥ*' or its substitute supplying similar information being absent in them. The fact, however, remains that the genealogical list of the Gupta records begins with Sri Gupta and as such he may be treated as the founder of the dynasty, which became famous after his name.

7. Purāṇa-Texts of the Dynasties of the Kali Age, pp. 84-85.

1st cent. B. C./A.D.

2nd cent./3rd cent. A.D.

Forms of 'Ma' in Brāhmī with medial sign for 'e'

3rd cent. B.C.

2nd cent. B.C.

1st cent. B.C./A.D.

2nd cent. A.D./3rd cent. A.D.

Forms of 'Ma' in Kharoṣṭhī with medial sign for 'e'

U—The form remains the same throughout its course of origin and development.

The Brāhmī form of 'Ma' in the 3rd cent. A.D. shows that the left side of this letter was expressed by a conical shape slanting towards the left and the medial sign for 'e' was expressed by an additional slanting line. From the illustration in the above chart it would be seen that the letter in question was likely to be read as 'Me' even in the absence of the additional slanting line meant for medial 'e'. This confusion was not possible in the Kharoṣṭhī form of the letter which, as would be clear from the chart, was too distinct to play its part. It is, therefore, evident that the term was spelt as Magha in the original account, and was erroneously deciphered as Megha by the later copyists, subsequent to the 3rd century A. D., the supposed date of the early draft of the dynastic account.

So far as the number of the Magha rulers is concerned, the point may be assessed in the light of inscriptional and numismatic evidence. The inscriptions reveal the names of the following six

rulers : (1) Vāsiṣṭhīputra Bhīmasena. (2) Poṭhasiri, (3) Bhadramagha, (4) Vaiśravaṇa, (5) Śivamagha, and (6) Bhimavarman. Besides stone-inscriptions, names of these six rulers are also known from their coins and sealings. Names of the following three rulers are exclusively known from coins and sealings : (1) Magha, (2) Vijayamagha, and (3) Śatamagha. Stone inscriptions of these three rulers have not been discovered so far. These sources, thus, allude to the reigns of nine rulers of the Magha dynasty, and this kind of information is well in tune with the Purāṇic data which specify the same number of Magha-rulers.

In so far as the Magha-rulers are mentioned in the Purāṇa line immediately before the line relating to the commencement of the rule of the Gupta dynasty, Pargiter seems to be fully justified in placing these rulers in the 3rd century A. D. His view-point is fully corroborated by the Magha-inscriptions, which can be placed in the 2nd-3rd century A. D. on a number of grounds. We may start with the method of dating adopted in these inscriptions. The dates are recorded in years and seasons. As pointed out by Mirashi[8] this method of dating is a pre-Gupta phenomenon. It is available in the Sātavahana records from the Deccan. In North India such season-dates were current in the Kuṣāṇa period. This practice seems to have gone out of use in the Gupta period, there being not a single date recorded in seasons. D. R. Bhandarkar followed by Mirashi has rightly shown that the method of recording the inscriptions in season-dates was replaced by month-dates in the Gupta period.[9] Linguistic standard of these records may also be taken into account in order to ascertain the actual state of affairs. Written in a mixed dialect, in which Prākrit expressions outnumber the Sanskrit expressions, these records point to a practice prevailing in the pre-Gupta period. Some of them introduce the names and honorifics of the kings in pure Sanskrit forms (e. g. *Mahārājasya Śrī Bhadramaghasya, Mahārājasya Śri Bhīmavarmaṇaḥ* etc.) and have otherwise a liberal use of Prākrit expressions in the majority of the cases. In this respect, these records bear close affinity to the Kuṣāṇa-records, in which Sanskrit and Prākrit ex-

8. Studies in Indology, Vol. I. pp. 139-140;
   Epigraphia Indica. Vol. XXVI, pp. 237 f.
9. Ibid.

pressions are treated in a similar way. The palaeography of these inscriptions has also its reference to the pre-Gupta stage of North Indian Brāhmī. There is no doubt that some of the letters like looped 'Sa' ( ) and 'Ya' ( ) and cursive 'Śa' ( ) and 'Ha' ( ) give the impression of the Gupta characters. But in the majority of cases the letters have squat and broad forms bearing family resemblance to the late Kuṣāṇa Brāhmī script.[10] The conclusion drawn on the basis of epigraphical analysis is in full consonance with the evidence of epigraphy. As early as 1910-11 the sealings of Bhīmasena and Śivamagha, two well-known rulers of the Magha dynasty, were found during the excavation at Bhīṭā at the lower level of a house, the finds of which belong to the Kuṣāṇa-period.[11]

10. As regards the general appearances of the Kuṣāṇa Brāhmī script the following remark of G. Bühler is noteworthy; "Inspite of great variations in the single letters, which occasionally exhibit the more modern forms in the earlier inscriptions and the earlier forms of the Northern Kṣatrapa type in the later documents, the alphabet possesses a very characteristic appearance, and nobody who once has seen the *squat and broad letters* of the Kuṣāṇa period will ever make a mistake by assigning them to other times" (Indian Palaeography, p. 59). Some scholars are inclined to think that there has emerged regional varieties in the Brāhmī script during the Kuṣāṇa period. (A. H. Dani, Indian Palaeography, p. 91; T. P. Verma, The Palaeography of Brāhmi Script in North India, p. 109). Places like Sanchi, Mathurā, Kauśāmbī, Sāranātha etc. developed into important centres of writing activity and produced their own styles. Mathurā became centre for the western style, while Kauśāmbī represented the eastern group.

11. According to the observations of Sir John Marshall the house, from the floor of which these two sealings were found, was deserted owing to some catastrophe in the Kuṣāṇa period (Annual Reports of Archaeological Survey of India for 1911-12, pp. 34, 51, 66ff.) It goes without saying that the Ghoṣitārāma monastery has also yielded Magha Coins from its Kuṣāṇa level. A comprehensive analysis of these coins has been done by G. R. Sharma, A.S. Altekar (Memoirs of Archaeological Survey of India, No. 74) and J. S. Negi (Some Indological Studies, pp. 63 ff.).

To the same general period may be placed the Bodhisattva Image inscriptions of king Bhadramagha discovered from the excavations of the Ghoṣitārāma monastery.[12]

One has reason to believe that the territorial jurisdiction of the Magha rulers mentioned as Kosalā or Kosala in the Purāṇic line is not at all contradicted by the bearing of the epigraphic and numismatic data. In this connection Mirashi points out that these kings held the country from Kosam (Kauśāmbī) to Bandhogarh, a large part of which was included in the ancient Chedi or Ḍāhala. The learned scholar further states that their capital cannot be ascertained with certitude, but it is not unlikely that they ruled from Kauśāmbī, the ancient capital of the Vatsa country where the records and coins of most of them have been found.[13] It is not improbable that these rulers had fixed their capital at Kauśāmbī, which had an enormous economic importance lying on the route leading to the trade-centres of Eastern India. Owing to its commercial importance, as S. Chattopadhyaya argues, different powers tried to have control over the region at different periods till it was incorporated within the strong-built empire of the Guptas.[14] Following Altekar, Dr. U. N. Roy points out in a generat way that the kings of the Magha dynasty were ruling in the Baghelkhand area, situated close to the south-west of Padmāvatī, which was under the suzerainty of the Nāga rulers.[15] It may be pointed out that the scholars have ignored one significant point, which is otherwise of great help in ascertaining the territorial jurisdiction of the Magha rulers. The early records of these rulers bearing Saṁvats

12. These inscriptions were discovered as early as 1951, and are presently housed in the Kauśāmbi Museum of Allahabad University. They record the donation of the Bodhisattva images in Saṁvat 83 of king Bhadramagha, by Ujhaka, son of Śaka Khuṇuka in the Mahāsaṁgha. The contents of these inscriptions testify to the infiltration of Sakas in the Gangetic basin and their Buddhistic leanings. It is also evident that the monastery of the Ghositārāma was under the supervision of the Mahasāṁghikas during the 2nd and 3rd centuries A. D. For a detailed study of these inscriptions see J. S. Negi, ibid, pp. 63ff.

13. Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XXVI, pp. 237ff.

14. Early History of North India, p. 142.

15. Gupta Rājavaṁśa Aura Usakā Kāla, p. 26.

51, 52, and 76 have been secured from Bandhogarh, whereas the later records mentioning Saṁvats 81, 83, 87, 107, 122, 130 and 139 have come from Kauśāmbī.[16] From this it may follow that the original kingdom of these rulers covered the Baghelkhand area and was extended to Kauśāmbī at a later stage. One may venture to suggest that the Purāṇas have applied the generic term Kosalā or Kosala to the original kingdom under the occupation of the Maghas. The tradition preserved in the Purāṇas relates that this Kosala was founded by Kuśa, son of Rāma. Pargiter is inclined to believe that the long stay of Rāma in the Chhattisgarh district, would have connected it with his home; hence arose this name. The tradition also relates that Sahadeva had to encounter a Kosala king in the course of his southern conquests.[17] Thus, there is no contradiction between the epigraphical and traditional accounts regarding the territorial jurisdiction of the Magha rulers.

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16. Inscriptions bearing Saṁvats 51 and 52 belong to the reign of Vāsiṣṭhiputra Bhimasena and have been discovered from Bandhogarh; Cunningham, Archaeological Survey Report, Vol. III. Inscription bearing Samvat 76 belong to the reign of Poṭhasirī. This name is spelt as Pṛṣṭha riya on the Bhita coin; Marshall, Annual Report of Archaeological Survey of India for 1910-11, p. 15; Motichandra, Journal of Numismatic Society of India, Vol. II, p. 99. Inscriptions bearing Saṁvats 81, 83 and 87 belong to the reign of king Bhadramagha and were discovered from Kauśāmbī; Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XXIV; J. S. Negi, Some Indological Studies. Inscriptions bearing Saṁvat 107 belong to the reign of king Vai ravaṇa and were discovered from Kauśāmbi, Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XXIV. Inscriptions bearing Saṁvats 122 (Housed in Kauśāmbi Museum), 130 and 139 belong to the reign of king Bhimavarmana. These were discovered from Kauśāmbī; J. S. Negi, ibid; Indian Culture, Vol. III; Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol. III.

17. Pargiter, Ancient Historical Traditions, pp. 173, 275-276, 278-279; Vishuddhanda Pathaka (in History of Ko ala) has summarized details.

Dr. Sarayu Prasad Gupta : महाभारत तथा पुराणों के तीर्थों का आलोचनात्मक अध्ययन; pp. X + 268; Chowkhambha Viswabharati, Varanasi; price Rs. 15/-.

The book under review (originally a thesis prepared under the guidance of Dr. Mangal Dev Shastri) contains a detailed study of the tīrthas as mentioned in the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas.

The book contains five chapters. The first chapter chiefly deals with the tīrthas mentioned in the *adhyāyas* (in MBH.) on tīrthayātrā associated with the sages, Aṅgiras, Dhaumya, Lomaśa and Pulastya. The second chapter deals with the Purāṇic material about the tīrthas. In both of these chapters the author has tried to show the chronological position of the chapters on the tīrthas.

In the third chapter the tīrthas are considered chiefly according to the geographical point of view., dividing them into four regions—northern, eastern, southern and western. The fourth chapter chiefly shows the connection of deities with the individual tīrthas. The fifth chapter contains a discussion on the tīrthas through the cultural and the historical point of view. Incidents associated with the tīrthas (as stated in the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas) have also been given by the author. The material collected shows the labour as well as the accumen of the author.

Some of the observations of the author are worth noticing and most of them, according to us, deserve further consideration. A few of such observations are given below :

(i) According to the author the greatest number of tīrthas are associated with *ṛṣis* and *pitṛs* and the least number of the tīrthas belongs to Viṣṇu and His incarnations. Between these two fall other kinds of tīrthas in the following order : the nadī-tīrthas, the Śiva-tīrthas, the Brahmā-tīrthas and the Devī-tīrthas (p. 125).

(ii) The author has noted the non-mention of some well-known tīrthas in the lists of the tīrthas and has sometimes afforded reasons for their non-mention. It is stated that Mathurā and Vṛndāvana have not been mentioned in the lists of the tīrthas in the Mahābhārata; the Vaidyanātha tīrtha has not been mentioned in the Mahābhārata lists and in the Purāṇas other than the Śiva-purāṇa (p. 155);[1] Kāñcī (p. 159) and Rāmesvara (p. 160) have not

1, One Vaidyanātha-tīrtha on the bank of the Sābhramatī river is mentioned in Padma-p. 6.160.1.

been mentioned in the lists of the Mahābhārata; no Gāṇapatya tīrtha has been mentioned in the chapter on Pulastya-tīrtha-yātrā (Mbh. Vana-p.) and in the Śiva-purāṇa (Preface, viii); Vārāṇasī is mentioned in the chapter on Pulastya-trtīha-yātrā only and not in the tīrtha-yātrā-chapters associated with Aṅgiras, Dhaumya and Lomaśa (p. 103).

(iii) Change in the situation of some tīrthas has also been discussed by the author. According to him Vārāṇasī was originally situated in the place between the confluence of the Gaṅgā and Gomatī rivers and the confluence of the Gaṅgā and Varuṇā rivers (p. 103). He opines that the place of the Gokarṇa tīrtha has also been changed (p. 109).

A few pieces of information are highly interesting. It is stated that Laṅkā is a tīrtha associated with Brahmā (p. 185) and that the image of Kṛṣṇa was established at Kurukṣetra at first (Preface, VIII). It is a pity that the author has not taken the trouble to consider these points in detail. Are there any signs to prove that Laṅkā was a tīrthā of the Brahmā sect? Can this point help us identify Laṅkā? It should be remembered in this connection that there are Purāṇic passages in which Laṅkā and Siṁhala are mentioned separately in one and the same sentence.

A few errors deserve to be corrected. The author wrongly thinks that the expression '*aṣṭasahasra*' (in Devī-bhāgavata 12.6.5) showing the total number of the names of Gāyatrī means eight thousand (p. 222). It must mean 'one thousand and eight' (8 + 1000).[2] The printed readings ऋषिश्रृङ्ग (p. 106) and अरण्यादिसूक्त (p. 121) are to be corrected to ऋष्यश्रृङ्ग and अरण्यानीसूक्त respectively.

The book has a short coming. No attempt has been made by the author to locate the tīrthas properly. He has satisfied himself by giving the Purāṇic locations only. Now-a-days it is not very difficult to locate most of the tīrthas. The author could have taken help from the works like "The List of the Tīrthas', 'Bhārata-Bhramaṇa' (in Hindī) etc.

—R. S. B.

2. It is worth remarking that a scholar like Winternitz also took the word अष्टसहस्र (used in Kūrma-p. 1. 12. 196) in the sense of 'eight thousand' (*vide* Hist. of Indian Literature, vol. I, pt. II, p. 503).

Anantray J. Rawal : *Indian Society, Religion and Mythology (A Study of the Brahmavaivartapurāṇa)*; D. K. Publications, 29/9 Nangia Park, Shaktinagar, Delhi-110007; p. 360; Price Rs. 150/- or $ 30.

The reviewer painfully notes that the title of the book as printed on the cover and on the first inner page ('Indian Society, Religion and Mythology') is confusing as it does not show precisely the character of the present composition. The title is especially misleading for history-loving scholars, for they may take the book to be a general work on Indian society, religion and mythology, while the book simply contains a study of one single Pnrāṇa, namely Brahmavaivarta (VBP.). The title given on the second inner page (shown at the top of this review) is also not proper. It should have been better (or more precisely honest) had the author given the title of his composition as 'Indian Society, Religion and Mythology as revealed (or described) in the Brahmavaivarta-purāṇa'. I do not understand what prevented the author from naming his book 'A Study of Brahmavaivarta-purāṇa' which clearly shows the nature of his composition. If the confusing title of the book is due to the advice of the Publisher, we may simply say that the advice is ill. Scholarship must remain uncontaminated by cunningness, duplicity and falsehood.

The book has five chapters entitled (1) Introduction, (2) Society, (3) Socio-economic life, (4) Religion and Philosophy and (5) Mythology along with five Appendices : (1) Brief summary of the BVP; (2) Geographical and Ethnic data; (3) Flora and Fauna; (4) List of Stotras, Mantras, Kavacas, Dhyānas and Bījamantras and (5) Editions and Translations of the BVP. It is regretted that there is no mention of the Jīvānanda edition (in two volumes; 1888 A D,) of this Purāṇa in the Appendix V, and that the names in the second Appendix do not follow the alphabetical order strictly.

The author has collected almost full material on each subject or item from the Purāṇa. This laudable book has a painful shortcoming. It does not quote Purāṇic passages (but gives Purāṇic references only) even when it becomes necessary to quote them. Since the Purāṇas are not easily available it is extremely useful to quote Purāṇic passages on all important points

Some of the arguments of the author seem to be highly unconvincing. The author says that since the BVP. holds views on *bhakṣya-abhakṣyas* which are similar to the views expressed by Raghunandana in his Aṣṭāviṁśatitattva, the BVP. is indebted to this work (p.8). We are unable to appreciate the argument. The reason is obvious

The author sometimes expresses contradictory views. He remarks (on p. 45-46) that according to the BVP. Kṛṣṇa's Vedic studies were started before the performance of his *upanayana* ceremony by his teacher Śāndīpani but on p. 188 he states that after performing *yajñopavīta* Kṛṣṇa went to Sāndīpani and learnt from him.

In a few places the remarks of the author require revision. It is said that 'people might have preferred to remain nude in ancient India; however such references are not found' (p. 95). I may inform the author that the term वातरशनाः signifying nudity occurs in RV. 10.136 2. The expression occurs in the pre-BVP. Purāṇa Bhāgavata (11.2.20) also.[1] The author has failed to mention the name of the river Śarāvatī in the Appendix 'Geographical and Ethnical Data'. The river is mentioned in 2.18.20[2] which speaks of its two ends. (शरावती मिश्रिता च निर्गता सा हिमालयात् । गोमन्तं वामतः कृत्वा प्रविष्टा पश्चिमोदधौ ॥ The significance of मिश्रिता is to be determined).

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1. The word वातरशनाः has been explaind by Śrīdhara as दिगम्बराः, which literally means 'those whose clothes are the directions'. वातरशन literally means 'having air for a girdle'; Sāyaṇa however takes the word वातरशनाः in the sense of 'the sons of Vātaraśana, which appears to be far-fetched. Nacked sannyāsins are mentioned in the Upaniṣads on *sannyāsa* and also in the works on yoga belonging to various sects.
2. Since the river Śarāvatī has not been identified clearly (शरावती नदी की निश्चित पहिचान नहीं हुई; पाणिनिकालीन भारतवर्ष p. 42) this statement of the BVP. is of high importance. It may however be noted that several rivers lay claim to this name (*vide* N. Dey : Geographical Dictionary, *s.v.*).

Some of the renderings of words seem to be doubtful. The author renders वंश by genealogies and वंशानुचरित by genealogies of kings (p. 13). Can there be any genealogy without any reference to any kind of creatures? It is not proper to say that *vanamālā* is a garland of wood flowers (p. 100). In fact it is सपुष्पपल्लवग्रथिता स्रक् (Devabodha on Udyoga-p. 19.18).

A few Sanskrit words are found to be written in a wrong way: Kartāla (p. 112), alakataka (p.101), śatśṛṅga (p.304) are to be corrected to karatāla, alaktaka, and Śataśṛṅga respectively. Similarly a few Purāṇic words seem to have been read worngly by the author. Virendra (p.306) and Rāṣtrīya (p.301) are to be read as Vārendra and Rāḍhīya.

Examples of anomaly in using the prātipadika and pada forms of Sanskrit words are often met with in this work. The author uses the pada forms in पिता (p.63), पितृस्वसा (p.64), सुदामा (p.189) and the prātipadika forms in श्रीदामन् (p.189), प्रचेतस् (p.203), ननान्दृ (p.65). The form अपान्तरतमा (p.203) is neither a pada nor a prātipadika. The stem ends in a dental s.

The paper, printing and get-up of the book are commendable.

—**R. S. B.**

Antonella Comba, Un capitolo della Śivagītā sulla medicina āyurvedica (A Chapter of the Śivagītā on Āyurvedic medicine), ***Memorie della Accademia delle Scienze di Torino***, II, Classe di Scienze Morali, Storiche e Filologiche, V, Vol. 5, Fasc. III, Luglio-Settembre, 1981, pp. 173-223. Price Lit. 11,000

"This paper contains: the first complete translation in Italian of a *gītā*, namely the Śivagītā, the translation of two commentaries of this text, an Introduction dealing with medical and religious topics of the work and their meaning in the light of modern medicine and psychoanalysis, and critical notes." The research, which was done by a young research scholar, opens a new field of inquiry in the study of āyurvedic medicine. The continuous references to and comparisons with Caraka, Suśruta, Vāgbhaṭa and other texts show, in this promising researcher, a full

acquaintance with the whole field of Āyurveda. Several references are from the Purāṇas and rightly so, because the Śivagītā is considered part of the Padma Purāṇa. Yet, many more quotations could have been given; the Liṅga, Garuḍa II, Bhaviṣya IV and other Purāṇas also deal with the topics studied in this *'Memoria'*. The author, with her large knowledge of the problems, would be the best person to do a research on the āyurvedic material in the Purāṇas. A translation in English of this *Memoria* is a desideratum.

—GIORGIO BONAZZOLI

John E. Mitchener, *Tradition of the Seven Ṛṣis,* Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, Vārāṇasī, Patna, 1982, pp. XX, 350.5 Tables, 1 Map. Price Rs. 125

Every *Brāhmaṇa* is aware of his belonging to one caste, ***gotra*** and ***pravara***, and to be related to one of the seven original ***ṛṣis***. Though the theme tackled in this book is of broad significance and has been studied by Indian scholars; western scholarship has not paid much attention to it. John E. Mitchener, a still young scholar, has been working on the different traditions of the Seven Ṛṣis, and the problems connected with them, since the time of preparing his doctoral thesis at the University of London The book under review is based on that research, enhanced by further studies pursued by the author in India. The book is divided into two parts, reciprocally complementary and interdependent Part one deals with text-historical traditions, namely how the group of seven was formulated and the factors that modified it, especially the Manvantara theory. The statements of the author are well documented with an exceptional abundance of textual references. Dr Mitchiner has left out no text which deals with the Seven Ṛṣis Naturally, as he notes in the Introduction (p. XVI), 'the amount of material concerning Ṛṣis in general is vast; no study could even hope to encompass all of their traditions in a single volume—or indeed in many volumes—and a number of limitations had therefore to be imposed in the present work'. The author, indeed, restricts his theme to the Seven Ṛṣis, but—especially in the second part—he enlarges it to other *ṛṣis* besides the seven, in order to give a broad background to his specific theme.

The second part deals with mythological, philosophical and mystical traditions The Seven Ṛṣis have different roles on earth as seers and composers, as sacrificers, as teachers, also in politics and in family life they have an important function. Here the field becomes immense and it appears difficult to constrain the whole material in a book, especially when one is tempted, as the author constantly is in this half, to enlarge the research beyond the self-imposed limits of dealing only with the Seven Ṛṣis. Astrologers and astronomers have seen the Seven Ṛṣis in the sky and have identified them in the Ursa Major. The author does not miss the chance to follow also this pattern of research and gives us an interesting, though rapid, account of the problems involved in this particular aspect of the Seven Ṛṣis.

The last two chapters deal with the deepest development of the traditions of the Seven Ṛṣis. In the ancient texts up to the Upaniṣads they had been considered as presiding over the seven *prāṇas* of man and they were thought of as residing in the head. Late, when, in subsequent philosophical thought, the *prāṇas* of man were reduced to five, the position of the Seven Ṛṣis as presiding over man's *prāṇas* decayed. In a later development of the tradition, the *ṛṣis* reached their highest position when they were considered, for their asceticism to be *Prajāpatis* like Brahman. Like Brahman, indeed, whose root means to increase,' the *ṛṣis*, whose root ṛṣ, besides meaning to see, implies the idea of knowing, are always dynamically growing and expanding at the centre itself of the continuously recreated universe.

The book besides a glossary and an Index contains also a good Bibliography. It is recommendable to all those who desire to deepen their knowledge of a chapter of Indology not well known though very important.

— GIORGIO BONAZZOLI

Othmar Gächter, *Hermeneutics and Language in Pūrvamīmāṅsā—A study in Śābara Bhāṣya,* Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, Vārāṇasī, Patna 1983. Price Rs 100

The present work is a particularly important approach to the Śābara Bhāṣya. The author, in his first work on this subject, shows, nevertheless, a fine mastership of the problem and his insights can be a valuable help for a better understanding of the Śābara Bhāṣya and for a wider comprehension of the whole hermeneutical problem, especially as understood in ancient India. Though the word hermeneutics is a modern western term, the author, who is well acquainted with the hermeneutical problems in the west, is able to discover the basic problems related to it particularly found in ancient authors. His study is pursued with particular sensitivity to Śabara's approach, leaving him completely in his original background while giving him flavour of modernity.

The book has six chapters : an introductory chapter on Hermeneutics and Language in Pūrva Mīmāṅsā, especially the Śābara Bhāṣya, three chapters on Śabara's view of reality and language, and two final chapters on 'Language as the core of Hermeneutics' and 'Man's experience with language through Hermeneutics,' which contain fully the methodology of the author and his interpretations of Śabara's views.

Textual Sources and a Glossary of Sanskrit terms are given at the end. The book is concluded with a good Bibliography and an Index.

The publisher has made every effort to give the book a pleasant appearance so as to present it without printing mistakes.

— GIORGIO BONAZZOLI

ACTIVITIES OF THE ALL-INDIA KASHIRAJ TRUST

(January-June, 1983)

Varāha Purāṇa Work

After the publication of the critical edition and the English translation of the Varāha Purāṇa, the Trust was actively engaged in the publication of the Hindi translation of the Varāha Purāṇa. By the blessings of the Almighty our efforts were crowned with success on 8th April 1983 when our Prime Minister Smt. Indira Gandhi released the Hindi translation volume in the concluding function of the Silver Jubilee of the Trust. The function was attended by His Excellency Sir C. P. N. Sinha, the Rajyapal of U. P., Hon'ble Shri Shripati Misra, Chief Minister of U.P., Smt. Kapila Vatsyayan, Additional Secretary Ministry of Education, Govt. of India and all the Trustees. With the publication of the Hindi translation of the Varāha Purāṇa we have been able to publish the following four volumes of the Varāha Purāṇa :

1. Critical edition
2. English translation
3. Hindi translation
4. Text edition

With the publication of the text edition (bearing the constituted text only) the Trust has started a new series of publications. This handy edition is prepared mainly for easy handling and recitation. On account of its small size and less price it is hoped that this edition will be more useful for general scholars and paṇḍitas.

On the successful conclusion of this Varāha-yajña we thank all the scholars, manuscripts libraries, institutions and financing authorities and the scholars working in the Trust for their contribution in this sacred task.

Garuḍa Purāṇa Work

The Garuḍa Purāṇa has three parts (*khaṇḍas*), viz. Ācāra, Preta and Brahma Six Devanagari and four Nevari MSS of the first part have been collated till now. The collation of this *khaṇḍa* does not present any particular problem, as the MSS do not

differ much. Till now we have not been able to find any complete MS of this *khaṇḍa* in any of the Southern India scripts.

The second part is called Uttarakhaṇḍa or, more commonly, Pretakalpa and Sāroddhāra. In the Catalogues of many MSS libraries this part is mentioned as the Garuḍa Purāṇa without assigning any explanation. There are three different versions of the Pretakalpa/Sāroddhāra supported by MSS evidence. The multiplicity of versions of this part of the Garuḍa Purāṇa creates serious problems of collation, which are being examined by the staff engaged in preparing the critical edition of the Garuḍa Purāṇa.

The third part, called Brahmakāṇḍa in 29 adhyāyas was printed only once by the Venkatesvara Press. Till now three Devanagari MSS only of this part have been found. They are being collated and they seem to be mostly similar to the printed edition.

Śivadharma/Śivadharmottara Purāṇa Work

The work on the Śivadharma and Śivadharmottara Purāṇas is done under the direction of Giorgio Bonazzoli in collaboration with IsMEO (Institute for Middle and Far East) of Rome, Italy. Two MSS of the Śivadharma have already been collated and ten MSS of the Śivadharmottara have been procured. None of the MSS of the Śivadharmottara Purāṇa procured (in Devanagari) till now is complete and as such the work of collation has not yet been started; the work of transcription is however in progress.

Veda-pārāyaṇa

The Ṛgveda Saṁhitā, Brāhmaṇas, Āraṇyakas and Upaniṣads were recited by memory in the Vyāsesvara temple of the Fort, Ramnagar from the first day of the bright half to the full moon day of the month of Māgha (January-February). The reciter or *pārāyaṇakartā* was Sri Visvanatha Vamanadeva and the *śrotā* was Pt. Anantarama Pant.

Purāṇa-pāṭha and Purāṇa-pravacana

1. The Adhyātmarāmāyaṇa was recited in the Janakpur temple of Ramnagar by Shri Laksmana Vaidya from the first upto the ninth day of the bright half of the month of Caitra (March-April).

Visitor to the Purāṇa Department

1. Miss Pauline Tina Lesnik, South Asian Bibliographer, Columbia University, New York, U. S. A. visited the Chairman of the Trust and the Purana Department on 6.1.1983. The visitor appeared quite enthusiastic for the work done at the Department. She wrote on the visitors' book : 'The Trust does excellent work. Thank you.'

2, Sri A. N. Tiwari—Commissioner and Secretary, Tourism, Sports and Culture, and Secretary Information and PR, Government of Orissa, Bhubaneswar paid a visit to the Chairman of the Trust and the Purana Department on 7.1.1983. 'It was a privilege and a pleasure', wrote he in the visitors' book, ' to have seen the dedicated literary work that is being undertaken under his guidance. It was an education for me. I wish the organisation godspeed.' Sri Tiwari came here in connection with a conference on Tourism, held in the Hotel Clarks, Varanasi, which was inaugurated by H. H. Maharaja Dr. Vibhuti Narain Singh, Chairman of the Trust The conference was attended by several Ministers of States and Centre. On this occasion the Maharaja sent a set of publications of the Trust through Sri Tiwari to the Chief Minister of Orissa. The visit of Sri A. N. Tiwari was an occasion for beginning a correspondence with the authorities of the Government of Orissa in order to procure Purāṇic MSS from the libraries of that State.

3. Prof. S. G. Kantawala, Professor and Head, Department of Sanskrit, Faculty of Art and I/C Director, Oriental Institute, M. S. University of Baroda, Baroda, came to the Purana Department on 9.4.1983 for delivering two lectures on Purāṇic subjects. The learned Professor wrote in the visitors' book :' It is a pleasure to visit the Purana Department....The Trust is doing excellent work, and I wish that it grows from more to more.' The Professor, who is particularly interested in the purāṇic studies, was shown all the details of the work of collation and transcription done at the Purana Department.

4. Sri Asoka Singhal, Central Office, Visva Hindu Parisad, New Delhi took occasion to watch the work of the Purāṇa Department and invoked his blessings on it during his visit to the Chairman of the Trust.

Silver Jubilee Function

The concluding Function of the Silver Jubilee was celebrated on 8th April 1983 where Prime Minister released the Hindi Translation volume of the Varāha Purāṇa (for detailed account see pp. 305-310).

Silver Jubilee Lectures on the Purāṇas

Dr S. G. Kantawala, Director of the Oriental Institute, M. S. University of Baroda, delivered two lectures on the Purāṇas on 9.4 and 10.4.1983 in the premises of the Sivala Palace of the Trust. The lectures were well-attended by scholars. H. H. the Maharaja, Dr Vibhuti Narain Singh and Pt Baladeva Upadhyaya presided on 9.4 and 10.4 respectively.

Introducing the speaker as one of the distinguished scholars in the field of Sanskrit and especially of *Purāṇa Vidyā,* Dr R. S. Bhattacharya referred to his deep erudition and to some of his contributions in the purāṇic field.

In the first lecture Dr Kantawala dealt with the antiquity and importance of the Purāṇas and pointed out some problems of textual criticism concerning the Purāṇas After the lecture a brief discussion was held by Maharaj Kumar Dr Raghubir Sinh, one of the Trustees, on the nature of purāṇic presentation and showed how the Purāṇic statements on geographical factors can be interpreted properly.

The main subject of the second lecture was 'Purāṇic augmentation (*upabṛṁhaṇa*) of the Vedas'. Dr Kantawala ably propounded the view that the Purāṇas must be regarded as a true helping factor in explaining the Vedas. A good number of examples were especially quoted to elucidate the Purāṇic way of augmenting the Vedic *ākhyānas.* The lecture was followed by a brief discussion.

Those who attended the two lectures were : Dr Lallanji Gopal, Vagisa Sastri, R. S. Bhattacharya, staff of the Purana Department and of the Maharaja Balvant Singh Degree College, scholars from the Sanskrit, Philosophy and Ancient History and Culture Departments of Banaras Hindu University, scholars of the American Institute of Indian Studies.

Pt Baladeva Upadhyaya in his concluding talk drew the attention of the scholars to the authoritativeness of pūrāṇic statements concering a few geographical and historical factors

and asked the scholars to take the help of purāṇic material scrupulously while studying different aspects of ancient Indian culture. He also laid stress on the need for such lectures.

At the and prasāda and tea were served to the scholars.

Silver Jubilee of the Purāṇa Bulletin

With this issue the Purāṇa Bulletin is completing its 25th year of publication and this issue is published as Silver Jubilee number.

The Bulletin has a glorious history. It has been regularly published on the fixed dates of the Vyāsa Pūrṇimā and the Vasanta Pañcamī. Eminent scholars from all over the world have made it rich and renowned by their scholarly research contributions. Scholars like the late Dr. V. S. Agrawala, Dr. V. Raghavan, Pt. Rajeshwar Shastri Dravida, Dr. Sternbach and Dr. R.C. Hazra have served on the Editorial Board of the Bulletin and have tried their best to uplift and maintain the high standard of the Bulletin. Even at present international scholars like Dr. R. N. Dandekar and Dr. R. K. Sharma are the distinguished members of the Editorial Board. In this connection the services of the late Sri Anand Swarup Gupta, who served as editor for 22 years continuously, are most remarkable.

As the first issue of the Purāṇa (I.1) was out of print for a long time we have considered it useful to attach it to the present issue. By combining this issue in photoprint with current issue we want to give a glimpse of the past and present.

Subject Index and Author Index

At the end of every five years we prepared an Index of all the previous issues. Thus five Indexes have been published in these 25 years. Now, after completion of 25 years we have prepared a combined classified Index of the last 25 years We hope that this Index will be helpful and will be used as a reference book. It will also serve as a record of old issues, which are becoming rare.

Inauguration by the Chairman of the New Building of the Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies

The Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies at Sarnath, Varanasi, has been shifted in a new magnificent building constructed with the grant of the Govt. of India. The building was in-

augurated by His Highness, Kashinaresh Maharaja Dr. Vibhuti Narain Singh on the 5th of February, 1983. Originally the Central Minister for Housing was to inaugurate the Building and the Maharaja was the chief guest. As the Union Minister could not attend the function, the Mahārāja, who was the chief guest on the occasion, inaugurated the building. On this occasion the All-India Kashiraj Trust published a brochure under the caption *'Maharaja Benares and Tibet'* in which the relation from the olden times to present date of the house of Benares with Tibet was traced. The brochure was in both English and Tibetan. It also contains photographs of the Maharaja of Benares with their Holinesses the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama.

ACTIVITIES OF THE SISTER TRUSTS

Maharaja Benares Vidyamandir Mangalotsava

The three day programme of the annual Vasanta Mangalotsava was held under the patronage of the Chairman of the Vidyamandir Trust H. H. Dr. Vibhuti Narain Singh. As usual the programme was conducted by the students of the College of Performing Arts of B. H. U. with whom also a few foreigners had the chance to show their progress in the study of the difficult art of Indian Music. Local people and a selected group of important persons attended the festival. The performing artists were offered a dinner every evening.

Museum

Among the persons who visited the Museum in this period the following deserve mention : the Deputy Speaker of the Assembly of Goa who visited the Museum on 16.1.1983 and Sri Daulat Ram, State Minister for Food and Supply, Himachal Pradesh on 26 2.1983.

Sri P. Venkatsubaih, Minister of State for Home, Govt. of India, New Delhi while visiting the Museum on 8.3.1983 wrote on the visitors' book : 'It is a most remarkable Museum preserved by the Maharaja He has kept intact the rich legacy handed over to him by his predecessors. The general public who visit the Museum must be beholden to the Maharaja for his exemplary action to inform the posterity of the rich heritage of his ancestors.'

On the 24 3 1983 Sri Jagdish Shunshore Jung Bahadur Rana, Ambassador of Nepal wrote on the visitors' book : 'I shall take back with me the most impressive displays I have had the pleasure to see I would also like to thank Kashiraj for his kindness in showing the family collection of wonderful Indian heritage and ingenuity'.

Dhrupad Melā

The ninth Dhrupad Mela took place at Tulsi Ghat, Varanasi organized under the auspices of the Vidyamandir Trust. As it has been usual for all the previous years, a great number of local and foreign people spent the three nights of the programme listening to the vocal and instrumental performances. This year, along with the programme, a show of the paintings of children on the pollution of the Ganges, was also displayed. The exhibition was organized by a special committee which is campaigning for a greater sensibility to the problem of water polution in the country.

MAHARAJA UDIT NARAIN SINGH MANASA PRACARA NIDHI

Navāhna Pārāyaṇa

In the month of Vaiśākha (March-April) from the first to the ninth day of the bright half the usual Rāmāyaṇa navāhna took place in the temple of Kālī at Chakiya. Pāṭhakartā was the Pujari Thakur Ji, the pravacanakartās were Sri Parasnath Vyas, Sri Devaki Nandan and Baba Ramdas. The Chairman of the Trust, H. H. Dr Vibhuti Narain Singh attended the Navāhna pārāyaṇa daily.

ANNOUNCEMENT OF FOUR NEW PROJECTS

The All-India Kashiraj Trust has resolved to introduce four new Projects for the advancement of Purāṇic learning. The Trust heartily requests all scholars interested in Purānic study for co operation.

(1) Publication of monographs dealing with Purāṇic literature (i. e. works bearing the names of Purāṇas or Upapurāṇas) in all the regional languages of India. Each monograph should contain a detailed account of published works, of MSS preserved

in the libraries and the Private Collections and of works known through quotations.

(2) Publication of unpublished theses on important Purāṇic subjects.

(3) Publication of a series of monographs (not less than 100 pages) on the lives of the great sages as described in Purāṇic literature.

(4) Publication of Sanskrit Digests by traditional scholars on Purāṇic subjects. These digests may be published in the Bulletin also.

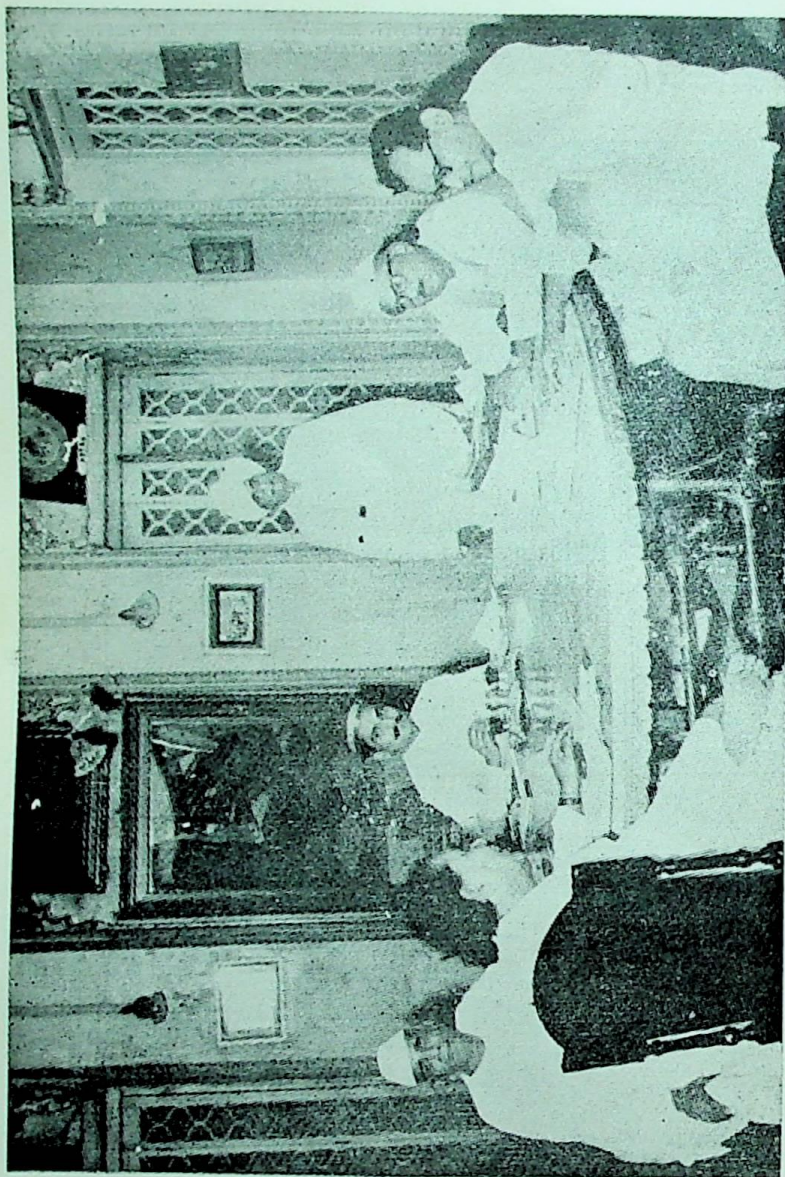
OUR REQUESTS

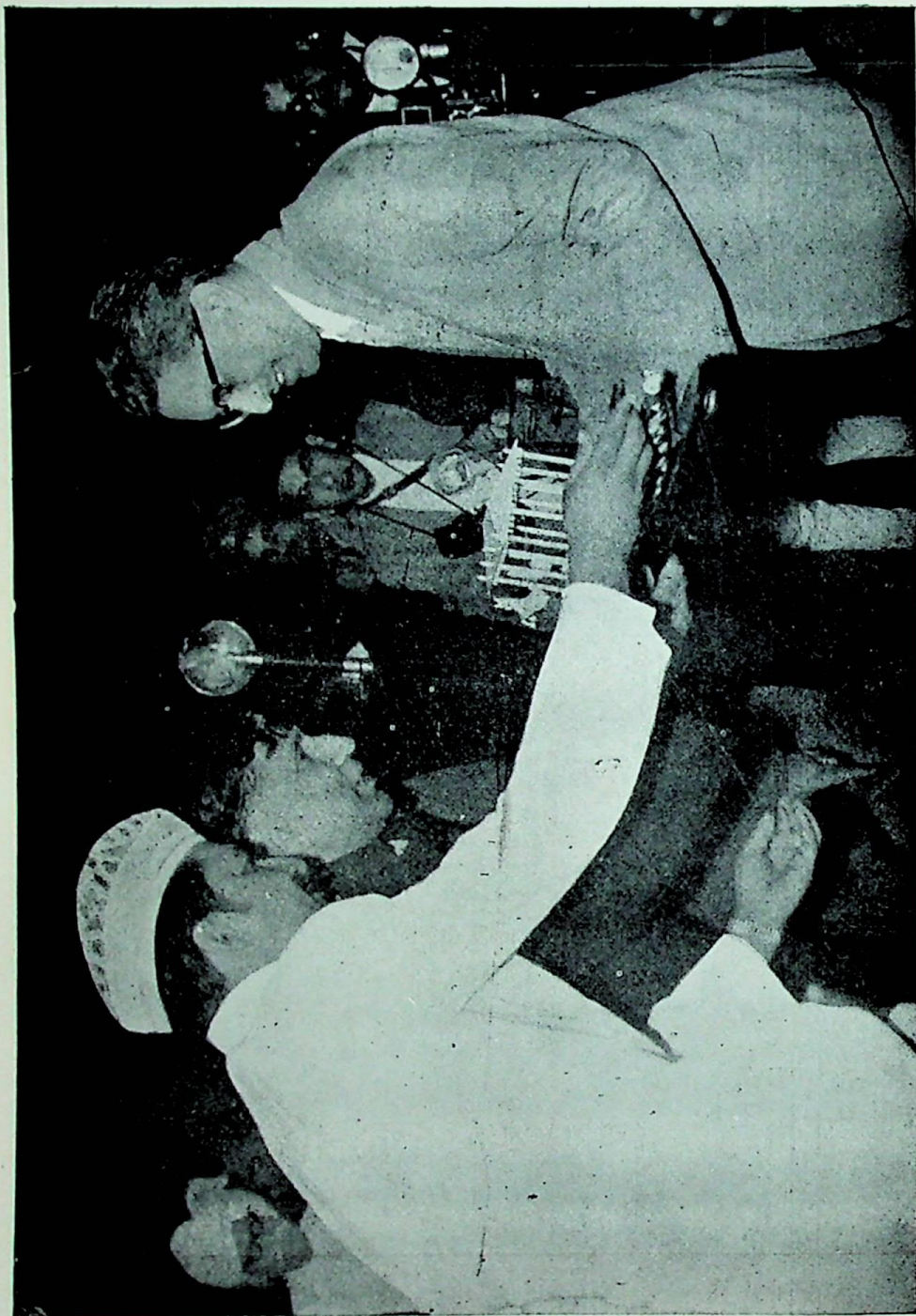
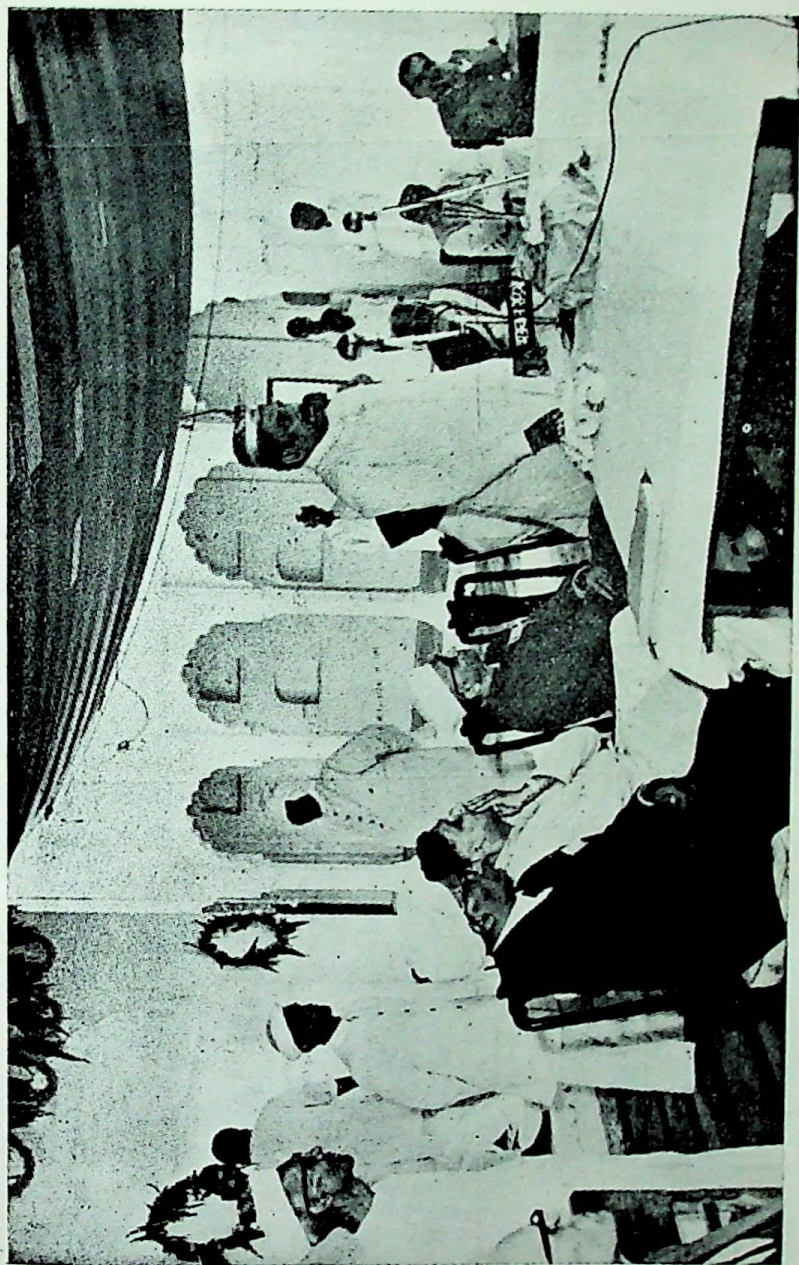
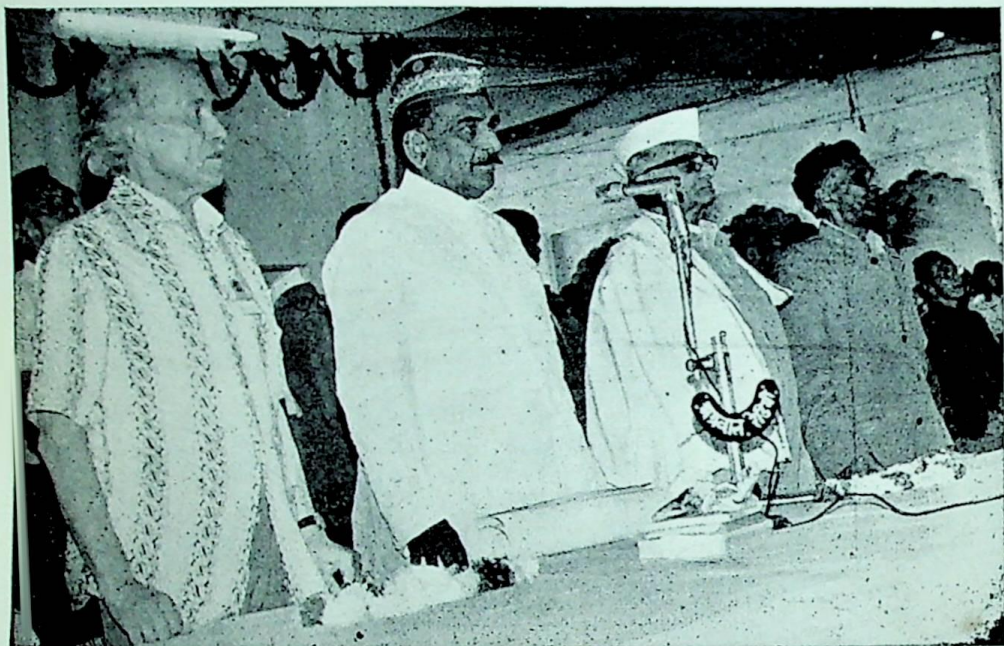
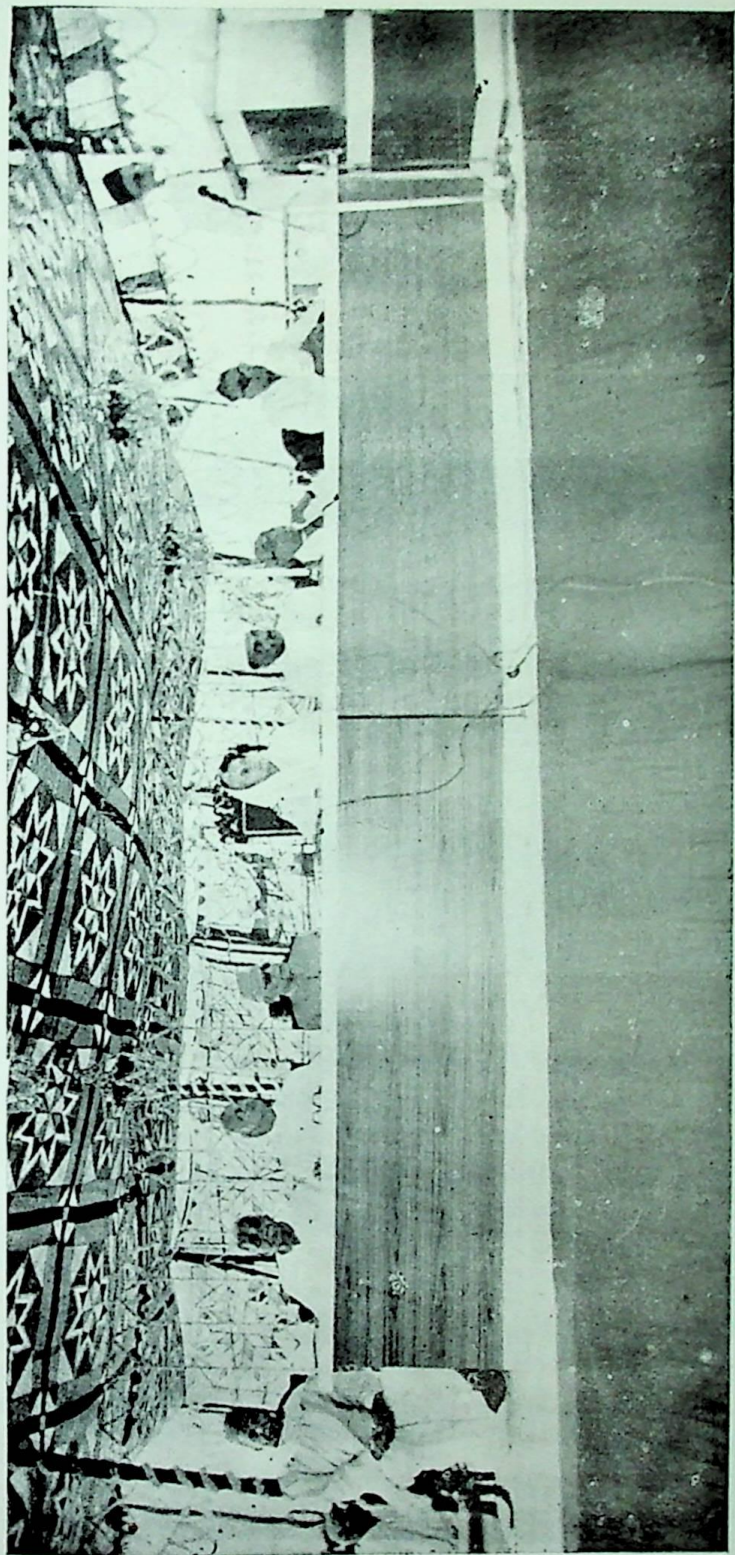
We earnestly request the authorities of all Institutions (Universities, Colleges or Research Institutes) to send us detailed accounts of works, done or taken up by the members of their staff or by the Research Scholars, on the Purāṇas, Upapurāṇas and the Epics. They are also requested to send us the outlines of their Projects on Purāṇic studies and research. These accounts and outlines will enable us to prepare a Purāṇic Bibliography in near future.

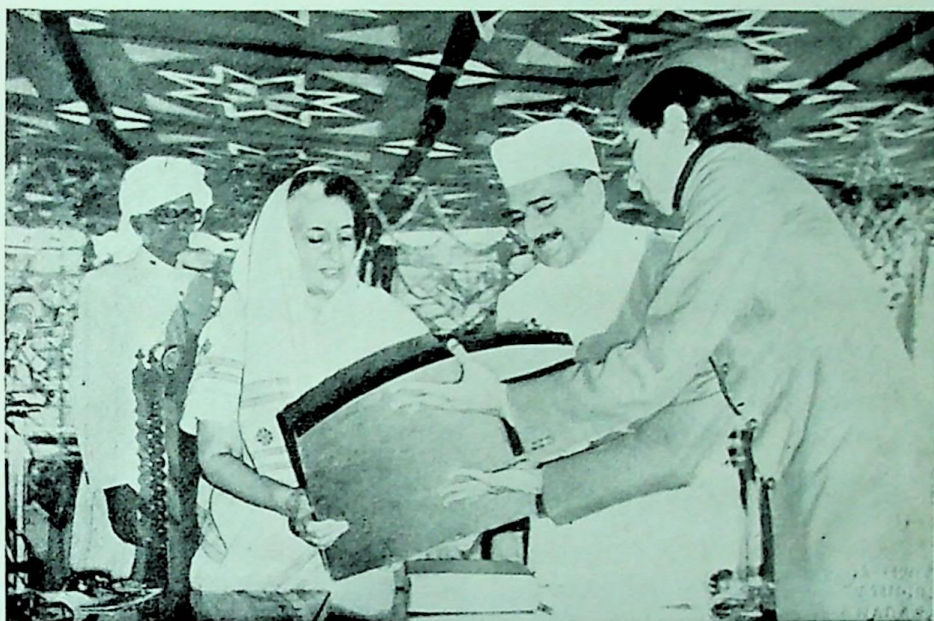
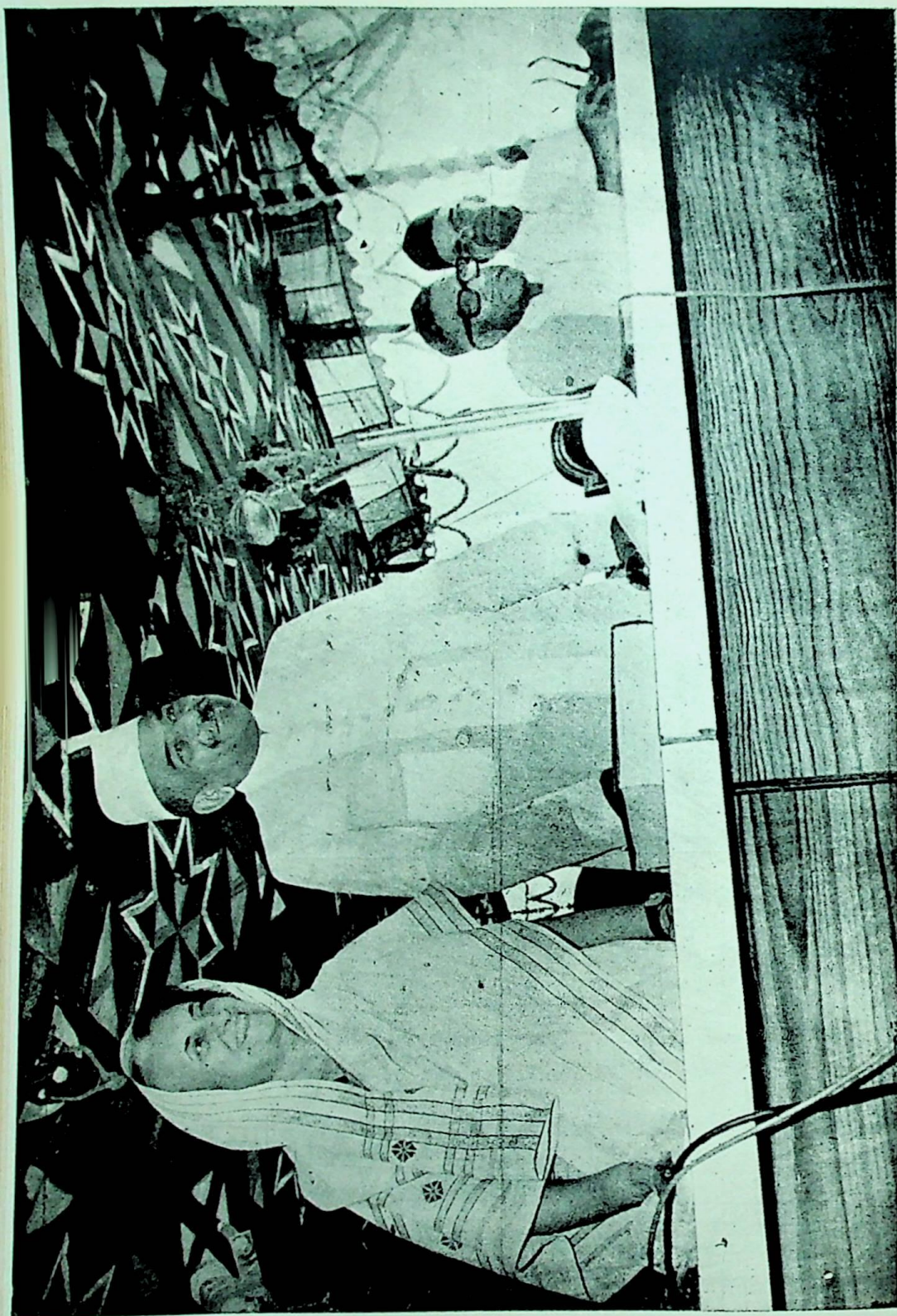
Scholars interested in Purāṇic study may send to the Purāṇa Dept any query of general interest about Purāṇic matters. These will be placed before competent persons for solution. The solutions may appear in the issues of the Bulletin.

AN ANNOUNCEMENT

In the Fifth World Sanskrit Conference, the Kashi Naresh, on behalf of the A-1. Kashiraj Trust, announced the institution of a prize of Rs. 10000/- to be awarded every third year for the best work relating to the Purāṇas published in any language and in any country.

Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the first President of India, inaugurating the All-India Kashiraj Trust on January 12, 1958, while His Highness Kashinaresh Maharaja Dr. Vibhuti Narain Singh (right) looks on.

The first meeting of the Board of Trustees, All-India Kashiraj Trust : (Clockwise around the table) : Sri Kamalapati Tripathi, Dr. Panna Lal, I. C. S., His Highness Kashi Naresh Maharaja Dr. Vibhuti Narain Singh, Sri Ramesh Chandra De, General Secretary (standing), Dr. Sampurnanand and Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji (11th September, 1956).

Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India, released the Ramcharit Manas of Tulsi Das published by the Trust on 12 January 1962. Sri Nehru is seen having a feel of the "shawl" to be presented to Acarya Visvanatha Prasad Misra, Editor, (extreme left) while His Highness Kashinaresh Maharaj Dr. Vibhuti Narain Singh looks on.

Reception of the King of Nepal. His Majesty, King Mahendra, being presented the welcome address in an ivory casket in the form of the *Ghurdaur*, Maharaja's barge (29 Nov. 1965).

His Highness Kashinaresh Maharaja Dr. Vibhuti Narain Singh speaking at the function to release the Vāmana Purāṇa—the first Purāṇa to be published by the Trust (sitting l to r) Dr. A. N. Upadhye, Maharajkumar Dr. Raghubir Sinh of Sitamau, Dr. R. N Dandekar, Sri Girdharilal Mehta (partially visible), Panditaraj Rajeshwai Sastri Dravida, Prof. Rajaram Sastri and Dr. R. K. Sharma. (Standing extreme left) Sri Anand Swarup Gupta, Editor (13th October, 1968).

Dr. Jean Filliozat, His Highness, Maharaja Dr. Vibhuti Narain Singh, Dr. R. N. Dandekar and Maharajkumar, Dr. Raghubir Sinh of Sitamau observing a minute silence as a mark of respect to the memory of Sri Anand Swarup Gupta, Editor of Varāha Purā a—at the Inauguration of the Silver Jubilee celebrations—24 October 1981.

A view of the dais at the concluding function of the Silver Jubilee celebrations—8 April 1983 : (l to r) Acarya Baladeva Upadhyaya (Trustee), Dr. Raghunath Singh (Trustee), Hon'ble Sri Sripati Misra, Chief Minister of U. P., His Excellency Sri C. P. N. Singh, Governor of U. P., Hon'ble Prime Minister Srimati Indira Gandhi, His Highness, Kashinaresh Dr. Vibhuti Narain Singh, Pt. Kamalapati Tripathi (Trustee), Maharajkumar Dr. Raghubir Sinh of Sitamau (Trustee), and Sri Girdharilal Mehta, reading the progress report of the Trust for 25 years.

Prime Minister Srimati Indira Gandhi signing her name on the fly leaf of the Varāha Purāṇa, Hindi translation, to mark its release on 8 April 1983 at the concluding function of the Silver Jubilee celebrations.

Prime Minister receiving a memento from Maharaj Kumar Anant Narain Singh at the concluding function of the Silver Jubilee celebrations—8 April 1983. (l to r) Sri Yogendra Narain Thakur, General Secretary, Srimati Indira Gandhi, His Highness Kashinaresh and Maharaj Kumar.

At the concluding function of the Silver Jubilee celebrations of the Trust—8 April 1983—Prime Minister Srimati Indira Gandhi and Kashinaresh Dr. Vibhuti Narain Singh in a happy mood.

CONCLUSION OF THE SILVER JUBILEE CELEBRATIONS OF THE ALL-INDIA KASHIRAJ TRUST

On 24 October 1981, the Silver Jubilee Year of the All-India Kashiraj Trust was inaugurated at an impressive function at the historic Shivala Palace premises of the Trust presided over by Dr R. N. Dandekar, President of the International Association of Sanskrit Studies. This happily coincided with the Fifth World Sanskrit Conference held in Vārāṇasī. The highlight of the inauguration of the celebrations was the release of the critical edition of the Varāha Purāṇa, the third in the series of the Mahā-Purāṇas to be published by the Trust, along with its English translation volume, by Dr Jean Filliozat, Vice-President of the International Association of Sanskrit Studies, at a distinguished gathering of Sanskrit scholars and indologists from all over the world. On the same day, a critical edition of the Premarāmāyaṇa, a Sanskrit rendering in verse of the Ayodhyā Kāṇḍa of the Rāmacaritamānasa of the Saint Tulasī Dāsa, edited by Maharajkumari Krishna Priya, was released at a function at the Tulasi Ghat hallowed by the memory of the saint-poet.

Hectic publication activities continued to mark the Silver Jubilee Year and subsequently a Silver Jubilee Number of the "Purāṇa", the half-yearly journal of the Purāṇa Department of the Trust, was brought out. Incidentally, the "Purāṇa" completes its 25th year of publication in 1983 and a special Number of the journal is being published to mark the occasion. As a fitting conclusion to the Silver Jubilee Year, His Highness Maharaja Dr Vibhuti Narain Singh, decided that the Hindi translation volume of the Varāha Purāṇa should be published and also that the Prime Minister of India, Srimati Indira Gandhi should be invited to release it.

The Prime Minister graciously accepted His Highness's request and agreed to grace the concluding function of the Silver Jubilee celebrations on 8 April 1983. The function was organized in the compound of the Circuit House (Government Guest House) under a specially erected and tastefully decorated shamiana

(awning) which was filled to capacity by eminent citizens, scholars, faculty members of the universities of the city, officials and dignitaries who were specially invited. His Highness along with Maharaj Kumar Anant Narain Singh and the three Maharajkumaris called on the Prime Minister at the Circuit House where she was staying and led her to the venue of the function where the Trustees were waiting to receive her. The Prime Minister, accompanied by His Excellency Sri Chandreswar Prasad Narain Singh, Governor of Uttar Pradesh and the Hon'ble Sri Sripati Misra, Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh, was led to the dais by His Highness and the Trustees at 3 p. m. and they were warmly cheered by the gathering. On the dais Srimati Gandhi was flanked on her left by His Highness, Sri Kamalapati Tripathi (Trustee), Maharajkumar Dr Raghubir Sinh of Sitamau (Trustee) and Sri Girdharilal Mehta (Trustee) and on her right by His Excellency the Governor, the Chief Minister, Dr Raghunath Singh (Trustee) and Acarya Baladeva Upadhyaya (Trustee).

The function started with a Maṅgalācaraṇa by Sri Visvesvara Sastri Dravida, invoking the blessings of and paying obeisance to Ganeśa, Sarasvatī, Kāśī Viśvanātha, Annapūrṇeśvarī and Maharṣi Vyāsa for the success of the function and welfare of all participants. His Highness invited Sri Kamalapati Tripathi, the Working President of the Indian National Congress and Member of Parliament, to say a few words welcoming the Prime Minister and the distinguished guests, remarking that Sri Tripathi was the seniormost among the Trustees who had been with the Trust from its very inception and most eligible for that function, especially as he had discharged this duty when Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the first President of India and Sri Jawaharlal Nehru, the first Prime Minister of India were invited by the Trust. Sri Tripathi said that there was none more competent to perform this duty than His Highness whom he described as the 'vibhūti' (glory) of Kashi and the custodian of the great traditions of an illustrious royal House and he would therefore decline to usurp the right from His Highness. His Highness briefly expressed his thanks to the Prime Minister for agreeing to preside over the concluding function of the Silver Jubilee celebrations of the Trust and in a way making up for her inability to attend the opening function in 1981 owing to her being away on a tour abroad. His Highness also recalled the

close cooperation of the Government in the activities of the Trust, its inauguration in 1958 by the then President of India, Dr. Rajendra Prasad and the release of its first publication, the Rāmacaritamānasa of Tulasīdāsa, by Sri Jawaharlal Nehru, the then Prime Minister, in 1962.

Next in the programme was the presentation of the progress report of the Trust's activities for the last twenty-five years and Sri Girdharilal Mehta, a Trustee and a renowned industrialist of India and a well-known philanthropist, was requested to present it. Sri Mehta traced the history of the formation of the All-India Kashiraj Trust, dwelt on the eminent scholars who had made great contributions to its work in the past, and gave a bird's-eye-view of the work done and being done by the Trust for the propagation of Sanskrit and especially the study of the Purāṇa-s, a neglected branch of ancient learning.

His Highness then declared that the third Purāṇa to be critically edited and published by the Trust was the Varāha Purāṇa, the critical edition and the English translation volume of which were released at the inaugural function of the celebrations, and the Hindi translation volume was awaiting release at the hands of the Prime Minister at this concluding function. His Highness invited Dr Raghunath Singh, a Trustee nominated on the Board of Trustees by the Government of India, an eminent scholar-citizen of Benares and former Member of Parliament and till recently the Chairman of the Shipping Corporation of India, to present the Hindi translation volume to the Prime Minister for release. Upon this, Dr Raghunath Singh presented to the Prime Minister the volume wrapped in saffron silk on a silver platter. Srimati Gandhi took out the volume and signed her name on the fly leaf to mark its formal release. The photographers present made a rush to the rostrum to record the event but the Prime Minister affectionately chided them for being impatient and said they would get an opportunity soon. She presented the released volume formally to His Highness and then kept it upright to be photographed with herself and H. H. standing behind it. H. H. then presented another copy of the volume autographed by him to the Prime Minister. A special volume of the Varāha Purāṇa containing the critically edited text only was also brought out and His Highness requested Acarya Baladeva Upadhyaya, a Trustee and

formerly Director of Research at the Sampurnananda Sanskrit University of Varanasi, to present it to the Prime Minister on behalf of the Trust which he did.

A specially bound volume of the "Purāṇa" journal of the Trust containing two issues brought out during the Jubilee Year was presented to the distinguished guests, His Excellency the Governor and the Hon'ble Chief Minister as a memento. His Highness then requested the Prime Minister to present a plaque commemorating the Silver Jubilee of the Trust and inscribed with the axiom, "Ātmā Purāṇaṁ Vedānām", to the Trustees. Each of the Trustees came to receive the plaque from the Prime Minister and she congratulated each of them. Apart from the Trustees, Srimati Kapila Vatsyayan, Additional Secretary to the Government of India in the Ministry of Education and Culture was also cited by His Highness for receiving the plaque as a token of appreciation for her help to the Trust in its activities. Srimati Vatsyayan who was seated in the audience walked up to the Prime Minister and received the memento. His Highness then made a citation on Chaudhary Srinarayana Singh who had translated into Hindi all the three Purana-s brought out by the Trust (Vāmana, Kūrma and Varāha). A "shawl of honour" was presented to him by the Prime Minister. Sri Ramashankar Pandya of the Tara Printing Works and Sri Vinay Shankar Pandya of the Ratna Printing Works who printed the Varāha Purāṇa editions were also awarded the shawls. Sri Ramji Gupta, Accountant of the Trust and Sri Bhagvan Das, Attendant in the Purana Department of the Trust were then mentioned by His Highness to receive the shawl as the oldest staff members of the Trust. The Prime Minister appeared being very happy at this.

His Highness then mentioned to the Prime Minister the three scholars of the Purana Department associated with the editing and publishing of the "Purāṇa" journal of the Trust. They were Dr Ramshankar Bhattacharya (Editor), Dr. Gangasagar Rai (Associate Editor) and Dr Giorgio Bonazzoli (Associate Editor), the last named being the only foreign scholar working with the Trust. They were presented with the specialy bound volume of the Purāṇa journal by the Prime Minister. Another scholar of eminence especially in the field of Purāṇic studies to be honoured on the

occasion was Prof S. G. Kantawala, Director of the Oriental Research Institute and Head of the Department of Sanskrit, Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda. Dr Kantawala was presented with the specially bound volume of the Purana journal. He had been invited to Varanasi on the occasion to deliver lectures on the Purāṇas, as part of the conclusion of the Silver Jubilee celebrations, on 9 and 10 April.

Now was the turn of Maharaj Kumar Anant Narain Singh to Present a memento to the Prime Minister on behalf of the Chairman and the Trustees of the Trust. He came up smartly from the rear row on the dais where he was seated holding in his hands a silverised statuette of Siva in the Padmasana posture with a trident, and presented it to Srimati Gandhi who stood holding it to the delight of the photographers and smiling all the while. This was the finale to the presentation of awards and prizes.

His Higness next invited Sri Pattabhirama Sastri, an eminent Sanskrit scholar of Kashi and recipient of "Padmabhushaṇa" to speak on behalf of the intellectual community of the city. He copiously quoted from the scriptures and ancient works to show that the importance of our ancient learning had not diminished in the context of modern scientific progress and that the work being done by the All-India Kashiraj Trust was in tune with the times. Sri Brijpal Das, a former Mayor of Varanasi and a public minded citizen, was next asked to address the gathering. He stressed the importance of the work being done by the Trust and the importance of Kashi as a centre of ancient learning and also requested the Prime Minister to give special consideration to the city for its improvement.

The Prime Minister in her concluding remarks congratulated the Trust on its achievements. She emphasized the need to preserve and propagate Sanskrit with stress on the correct accent and intonation. She also advocated bringing out the essence of the Purāṇas and such other works to the common man in a language understood by the masses. On the suggestion of the Governor, Sri C. P. N. Singh, Srimati Gandhi was pleased to announce a grant of Rs. 25,000 on behalf of the Government of U. P. to the All-India Kashiraj Trust.

His Highness thanked the Prime Minister for her kind gesture in agreeing to preside over the function and giving inspiration to the scholars and the Trustees to carry out the task embarked upon by them.

The function and the Silver Jubilee celebrations of the All-India Kashiraj Trust was thus concluded.

The District authorities and personnel of the police contributed in no small measure to the resounding success of this function. The authorities of the Banaras Hindu University, especially Sri O. P. Tandon, Officer on Special Duty, extended all cooperation organizing the function. The Trust records its appreciation and gratitude to each and everyone of them.

पुराणम्

(भागः-२५; अङ्कः-२)

PURĀṆA

(Vol. XXV. 2)

संस्कृत-खण्डः

संस्कृतविद्वांसोऽभ्यर्थ्यन्ते यत्ते पुराणपत्रिकायां प्रकाशनार्थम् (१) पुराणगत-दर्शनशास्त्र-धर्मशास्त्रविषयपरान् लेखान् (२) पुराणोक्त-दुरूहार्थकास्पष्टार्थकवचोव्याख्यापरान् लेखांश्च प्रेषयेयुरिति ।

आङ्गलभाषानिबद्धानां लेखानां संक्षेपाः

चित्रसूत्रं तस्य रचनाकालश्च

THE CITRASŪTRA AND ITS DATE

C. Sivaramamurti

प्राचीने भारते विनोदस्थानेषु चित्ररचनम् (चित्रकर्म) अपि गणितम्। कामसूत्रादिषु कर्मणोऽस्योल्लेखो दृश्यते। चित्रकारादीनां शिल्पिनां संरक्षणं राज्ञा करणीयमिति अर्थशास्त्रादिषूक्तम्। निबन्धेऽस्मिन् चित्रकर्माधिकृत्य किमपि विचार्यते।

चित्रकर्माधिकृत्य प्रमाणभूता ग्रन्थाः प्रणीता इति निश्चप्रचम्। इमे ग्रन्था लुप्ता जाता इति प्रतीयते। विष्णुपुराणांशभूते विष्णुधर्मोत्तरसंज्ञके पुराणे चित्रसूत्रनामकं किमपि प्रकरणं (३।३५–४३ अ०) दृश्यते। चित्रसूत्रमिदं पञ्चाशद्वर्षेभ्यः प्राक् स्टेला क्रमरिश-महोदयया अनूदितं प्रकाशितं च। चित्रकर्मविषयका गुणदोषरसादयः सर्वे पदार्था अत्र विशेषेण प्रतिपादिताः।

चित्रसूत्रसंज्ञकमिदं प्रकरणं पूर्वसूरिभिर्ज्ञातं न वा, को वास्य रचनाकाल इत्यत्र विचार्यते। यतोऽस्मिन् ग्रन्थे चित्रकर्म विशेषतो वर्णितम्, अतो नेदमविज्ञातमभविष्यच् शिल्परसज्ञैः प्राचीनैः। दामोदरगुप्तकृते कुट्टनीमतग्रन्थे चित्रसूत्रस्य य उल्लेखो वर्तते ('भरतविशाखिलदत्तिलवृक्षायुर्वेदचित्रसूत्रेषु') स इदमेव पुराणगतं प्रकरणं लक्षयतीति विज्ञेयम्, यतश्चित्रसूत्रसंज्ञकं नान्यत् किमपि पुस्तकम् विज्ञायते। अष्टमशताब्दीभवः खलु दामोदरगुप्तः।

विष्णुधर्मोत्तरवचनं स्मृतं शंकराचार्येण विष्णुसहस्रनामस्तोत्रभाष्ये। शंकरः खलु अष्टमशताब्दीभवः, अत एतस्मात् कालात् प्राचीनं विष्णुधर्मोत्तरपुराणमिति सिद्धमेव। त्रयोदशशताब्दीभवेन हेमाद्रिणा, एकादशशताब्दीभवेन अलवीरुणिना चेदं पुराणं स्मृतमित्यतो गम्यते यदिदं पुराणं सुप्रसिद्धमासीदिति। तेलुगुभाषामये कस्मिंश्चित् काव्ये अष्टमशताब्दीतोऽपि प्राचीने काले विरचिते विष्णुधर्मोत्तरीयचित्रसूत्रगताः केचन पारिभाषिकाः शब्दाः स्मृता इत्यतोऽपि चित्रसूत्रप्रकरणस्य प्राचीनता सिद्धा।

चित्रसूत्रसंपादिकाभ्यां स्टेलाक्रमरिश-प्रियबालाशाह-नामिकाभ्यां नाट्यशास्त्रसंपादकेन मनोमोहनघोषेण च यदुक्तं ततः प्रतीयते यत् ख्रीष्टपूर्वप्रथमशताब्दीतोऽर्वाचीनं खलु विष्णुधर्मोत्तरपुराणम्, यद्यपि नेदं चतुर्थशताब्दीपरभवं भवितुमर्हति।

पुराणस्यास्य ऊर्ध्वसीमाविषये बहु विचारितं शाहमहोदयया (उदीच्यवेशादिशब्दप्रयोगाधारेण)। सिद्धान्तितं च यदिदं तृतीयशताब्दीतः प्राचीनं भवितुं नार्हति। पुराणमिदं चतुर्थशताब्द्यामेव रचितमिति संभाव्यते—इति प्रियबालाशाहमहोदया वक्ति।

चित्रसूत्रप्रकरणे सन्ति बहव एवंविधा निर्देशाः (ब्रह्म-इन्द्र-नारायण-सूर्य-विष्णु-वराह-गरुड-शिव-धर्म-ग्रहादिमूर्तिविषयकाः) ये इममेव रचनाकालं स्फुटं लक्षयन्ति-इति विस्तरेण बहुभिरुदाहरणैर्लेखकेन प्रतिपादितम्। विष्णुधर्मोत्तरगतस्य चित्रसूत्रस्य प्राचीनता चित्रलक्षणेति बौद्धग्रन्थविशेषतोऽपि सिद्ध्यति (ग्रन्थोऽयमिदानीम् आङ्गलभाषानुवादेन सह प्रकाशितः)।

एतद्ग्रन्थद्वयगतं यत् सादृश्यं (शब्दप्रयोगे वस्तुस्वरूपविषये च) तेनेदं विज्ञायते यच् चित्रलक्षणमिदं चित्रसूत्राधारेण प्रणीतम्। चित्रलक्षणमिदं दशमशताब्दीभवेन भट्टोत्पलेन बृहत्संहिताटीकाकारेण स्मृतम्। अनेनापि चित्रसूत्रप्रकरणस्य प्राचीनता सुप्रसिद्धा भवति।

भागवतपुराणम् : अद्वैतमतानुसारि सांख्यम्

THE BHĀGAVATA-PURĀṆA : SĀṀKHYA AT THE SERVICE OF NON-DUALISM

DANIEL P. SHERIDAN

भागवतसंज्ञकं पुराणं दक्षिणभारते नवमशताब्द्यां प्रणीतम्; नैकवैष्णवसंप्रदायप्रमाणभूतमिदम्। भागवतीयं सांख्यमतं स्वेन रूपेणैव विचारमर्हति, न तु सांख्यसंप्रदायीयव्याख्यानग्रन्थाधारेण।

वैदान्तिकाद्वैतवाद-वैष्णवभक्तिवादयोः समाहारो भागवते दृश्यते। नेदं पुराणं शांकर-केवलाद्वैत-(निर्विशेषाद्वैत) मतेन प्रभावितं यत इदं जीवजगतोः सत्यताम्, ब्रह्मणः सर्वव्यापितां सर्वाश्रयभूततां चाभ्युपैति। ब्रह्म खलु स्वमायया जगत्सर्जकमिति प्रतिपादितमत्र।

भागवतं स्वदृष्ट्या सांख्यमतमित्थं वर्णयति—एकं ब्रह्म पुरुषाख्यं जगत्सर्जकम्; एतस्मात् प्रकृतिर्जायते, प्रकृतितश्च तत्त्वानि; अस्य पुरुषस्यैव विशिष्टं रूपं जीवाख्यम् इति। भागवते सत्कार्यवादोऽभ्युपगतः, ब्रह्मणः सर्वकारणतापि। अनेनैव रूपेण भागवतीयाद्वैतदृष्टिः सांख्यमतं प्रतिपादयतीति विज्ञेयम्।

भागवते द्विविधा भक्तिरुक्ता; सा च योगेन ज्ञानेन चानुविद्धा। ब्रह्म यथा सर्वव्यापि तथा सर्वातिशायि—इति व्यक्तं वर्णितं भागवते।

भागवतीयमद्वैततत्त्ववर्णनं यथा औपनिषदशब्दप्रचुरं तथा सांख्यीयशब्द-बहुलं च। न खलु भागवती दृष्टिः सर्वत्र सुबोधेति केचन। दशमस्य आश्रित-लक्षणस्य प्रतिपादनाय भागवतं विशेषतो विरचितमिति भागवत एवोक्तम्। ब्रह्म भगवान् वाश्रयभूतः।

एकं सद्भूतं वस्तु अस्ति—इत्येव भागवतीयमद्वैतदर्शनम्। सर्वं च तद-न्तर्गतम्। आदौ तदेव आसीत्, अन्ते च तदेव स्थास्यति। एतत् परमार्थतत्त्वं विहाय सर्वमनित्यम्—इत्यनेन भागवतमतेन सिद्ध्यति।

तृतीये स्कन्धे विदुरमैत्रेयसंवादे सृष्टिरुपवर्णिता। ईश्वरस्य शक्तिरेव बहुत्वबीजमित्यत्रोक्तम्। षष्ठे स्कन्धे ईश्वरेण दक्षाय स्वीयं रूपं प्रकटीकृतम्; एकमेव सद्भूतं वस्तु सृष्टेः प्रागवर्ततेति कथितमत्र। तच्च संज्ञानरूपम्। इदम् अद्वैतम् (अद्वयं वा) वस्तु एव बहु भवतीति व्यक्तं प्रोक्तम्।

अद्वैतस्य नेदं तात्पर्यं यद् बहुत्वं सर्वथा नास्तीति। अतएवाद्वैतं वस्तु सर्वगमिति भागवते प्रोच्यते। विस्तरेण मतमिदं प्रपञ्चितं तृतीये स्कन्धे। यतोऽद्वैतं वस्तु सर्ववस्तुबोजमतः सर्वमिदं न सनातनम्, उत्पत्तिलयवत्त्वात्। सेयमद्वैतदृष्टिः त्रिधा भिद्यते—भावाद्वैत-क्रियाद्वैत-द्रव्याद्वैतरूपेणेति युधिष्ठिरायोक्तं नारदेन सप्तमे स्कन्धे।

ज्ञानरूपमिदद्वतं तत्त्वमिति भागवतं प्रतिपादयति। (परमार्थतश्च ज्ञातृ-ज्ञानयोरभेदः); तच्च ब्रह्मपदवाच्यं भगवत्पदवाच्यं च। द्वितोये स्कन्धे अद्वैततत्त्वस्य स्वरूपं स्फुटं वर्णितम्। निर्गुणमरूपमपोदं तत्त्वं स्व-शक्त्या बहुनि रूपाणि ग्रहीतुं शक्नोति; सत्त्वादयो गुणा अस्य परमार्थतत्त्वस्य शक्तिरूपाः। भागवतीयं प्रथमं पद्यं जगदादि-वस्तु-स्वरूपं यथा निर्वक्ति, तथैव भागवताद्वैतमतस्वरूपं विज्ञेयम्।

भागवताद्वैतवादो न खलु शंकराचार्यप्रतिपादितो निर्विशेषाद्वैतवादः, अभेदवादो वा। न खलु भागवतीया दृष्टिर्वस्तुजीवबहुत्वविरोधिनी।

भागवते औपनिषदाः सांख्यीयाः शब्दाश्च बहुलं प्रयुक्ताः। अद्वैतदृष्टिरेव सांख्यवेदान्तयोर्मुख्या। अर्वाचीने काले सांख्यं द्वैतदृष्टिपरकमनीश्वरवादि च संजातम्। वैष्णवे पुराणे, विशेषतश्च भागवते सेश्वरसांख्यस्वरूतं प्रपञ्चितम्, तच्चाद्वैतवेदान्तानुरूपम्। भागवते भगवदवताररूपेण कपिलः स्तुतः, तृतीये स्कन्धे सांख्यमतमुपदिदेश कपिलो मात्रे, एकादशे स्कन्धे च कृष्ण उद्धवाय।

सांख्ये सृष्टिविवरणमन्तःकरणकार्यविवरणं च विवृतम्। सर्वमिदं वस्तुजातम् एकस्मात् तत्त्वाद् गुणरूपात् संजात मिति चोक्तमत्र। तदेकं तत्त्वं ब्रह्मैवेति

भागवतमाह सांख्यमतविवरणप्रसङ्गे; ब्रह्म खलु भगवानित्यप्युच्यते। कालकर्म-स्वभावादयः सर्वे पदार्था भगवत एव व्यक्ता भवन्ति। स्वशक्तिरूपायां मायायां भगवान् स्वेच्छया प्रतिबिम्बितः सन् मायावशो भवतीति भागवतीया दृष्टिः। नेयं दृष्टिः सांख्यपरम्परायामुपलभ्यते।

यद्यपि भागवतीये सांख्यमते सांख्यपरम्परास्वीकृते सांख्यमते च भूयः सादृश्यं लक्ष्यते, तथापि सन्ति उभयोः कानिचन परस्परविरुद्धानि मतानि। सांख्यशास्त्रीयस्य महत्तत्त्वस्य यत् स्वरूपकार्यादिकं न तत् सर्वथा भागवतकारेणाभ्युपगतमिति व्यक्तं प्रतीयते। अहंकारादिविकारविषयेऽपि भागवतीयं मतं न सर्वत्र सांख्यशास्त्रमतानुसारि।

सांख्यशास्त्रस्य अवान्तराः शाखा आसन्निति एकादशस्कन्धतो विज्ञायते। परस्परभिन्नानि सर्वाणि मतानि दृष्टिभेदेन आदरणीयानि—इति खलु भागवतकारस्य महती प्रतिज्ञा। प्रतिज्ञेयं सत्कार्यवाददृष्ट्या सूपपादा भवतीति विज्ञेयम्। गुणातीत एकः पुरुषः परमात्मनामकः प्रकृतिकारणभूतो भागवतीये सांख्ये ऽभ्युपगम्यते, न पुनः सांख्यशास्त्रे। भगवदभिन्नः कालः, जीवश्च परमात्मनः प्रतिबिम्बभूतः, कैवल्यं भगवदाश्रयकम्—इत्येवंविधा भागवतदृष्टिर्न सांख्यशास्त्रीया। भागवतीये सांख्ये भक्तिरूपं साधनं प्रामुख्यं भजते, नेयं दृष्टिः सांख्यशास्त्र उपलभ्यत इति।

कुब्जा-कृष्ण-समागमस्य न्याय्यता

THE JUSTIFICATION OF KṚISHṆ'S AFFAIR WITH THE HUNCH-BACKED WOMAN

DR. NOEL SETH

कंसं निहन्तुं मथुरामागतः कृष्णः पथि त्रिवक्रानामिकां कांचित् कुब्जां रमणीं ददर्श, या कंसनृपतेर्दासी (अङ्गविलेपनादिकर्मसु नियुक्ता) आसीत्। याच्यमाना सानुलेपनादिकं दत्तवती, कृष्णश्च तां कुब्जामृज्वीं कृतवान्। मद्गृहे त्वयाऽऽगन्तव्यमिति कुब्जया प्रार्थितः कृष्णस्तद्गृहं रात्रौ गतवान्—इति केषुचित् पुराणेषु स्पष्टमुक्तम्। कुब्जया सह कृष्णस्य यद् रमणं तन्निर्दोषम्—इति वैष्णवाचार्यैर्यथा प्रादर्शि, तथात्र प्रदर्श्यते।

कुब्जा स्वेच्छया कृष्णं चकमे—इति भागवत उक्तम्। कृष्ण एव पथि गच्छन्तीं तामाकृष्टवानिति पुराणान्तर उक्तम्। सकामां कुब्जाम् अनादृत्य कृष्णः स्वगृहं गतवानिति हरिवंशे दृश्यते। तव गृहम् आयास्यामि—इत्युक्तं कृष्णेन कुब्जां प्रति—इति कथ्यते वैष्णवे, ब्राह्मे पुराणे च; यद्यपि कृष्णो न तद्गृहं

गतवानिति पुराणयोरनयोर्दृश्यते। भागवतं तु 'उद्धवेन सह कृष्णः कुब्जागृहं गतवान्' इत्याह। यद्यपि कृष्णो नामन्त्रितः कुब्जया, तथापि स एकलस्तद्गृहं गतवान् रात्रौ-इति ब्रह्मवैवर्ते पठ्यते। भागवतब्रह्मवैवर्तानुसारेण कृष्णः कुब्जां प्रति सकामो जातः, कुब्जा च कृष्णं प्रति। ब्रह्मवैवर्ते च कृष्णकुब्जारमणं स्फुटमुपवर्णितम्। कृष्णं प्रति कुब्जाया योऽनुरागः स न गोप्यनुराग इव दिव्यभावमय इति भागवतवर्णनात् व्यक्तं प्रतीयते। भागवते कुब्जा दुर्भगेत्युक्ता, यतः सा कृष्णतः शारीरं प्रेमैव काङ्क्षितवती। एवंविधया कुब्जया सह संबन्धात् कृष्णस्य चरितं कलुषितं जातं नवेति जायते विचारणा।

हरिवंश-विष्णु-ब्रह्मपुराणेषु यादृशी कुब्जाकथा प्रोक्ता, तत्र कृष्णचरितं न सदोषमतः कृष्णदोषापाकरणाय कोऽपि प्रयासो नैतत्पुराणकारैर्विहितः। ब्रह्मवैवर्त-भागवतादिषु यादृशी कथा विद्यते, तत्र कृष्णचरितं सदोषं भवति, अतः प्रयासो विधेय इति विज्ञायते। कुब्जां प्रति कृष्णो न सकामो जात इति विष्णु-ब्रह्म-पुराणाभ्यामुक्तम्; अतएव स न कुब्जागृहं गतवानितीमे पुराणे कथयतः।

ब्रह्मवैवर्तपुराणे पुनः कृष्णदोषक्षालनाय युक्तिरुद्भाविता। कुब्जा पूर्वजन्मनि शूर्पणखासीत्—इत्येवंविधा काचित् कथा कल्पिता, अतः कृष्णेन सह तस्या रमणं न सदोषमिति उद्घोषितम्। अतएव कुब्जात्र लक्ष्मीतिसंज्ञयाऽभिहिता। कृष्णेन लौकिकी रीति रत्रास्थिता—इत्युक्तं भागवते (कृष्णकुब्जासमागमप्रसंगे), येन कृष्णचरितं निष्कलङ्कं स्यात्। भागवते नान्यत् किमपि विशिष्टं कारणं प्रदत्त मिति विज्ञेयम्।

भागवतटीकाकारैः कृष्णदोषक्षालनाय बहुधा प्रयतितम्। कैश्चिदुक्तं यद् यतः कृष्णोऽच्युतः, अतः स न कामवशगो भवितुमर्हति। अकाम्यपि कृष्णः प्रेमरसप्रदानाय कुब्जया सह संगतः—इति न दोषलेशः कृष्णे। अन्यैरुक्तम्—तत्त्वतः त्रिवक्रा (कुब्जा) कृष्णस्य पत्नी एव (सत्यभामांशरूपा), अतस्तया सह कृष्णस्य रमणं न दोषावहम्। लक्ष्म्यंशभूता कुब्जेत्यपरे। हरिं स्वपतिरूपेण लब्धुं काचिद् रमणी तपश्चचार पूर्वजन्मनि, सैव कुब्जारूपेण जातेत्यतः कुब्जया सह हरिरूपस्य कृष्णस्य रमणं न दोषसंकुलमित्यपरे। सर्वात्मनस्तस्य कृष्णस्य सर्वाश्चेष्टा जीवानां हितायैव, अतः कुब्जां प्रति यत् कर्म कृतं कृष्णेन तत् तस्या हितायैवेति केचनाहुः। एते कथयन्ति—कुब्जां प्रति कृष्णस्यैषोऽनुग्रह एव यत् तस्या काम स्तेन पूरित इति।

हरिवंशादिषु कुब्जाकृष्णप्रसंगे यदुक्तं तत्र न किमपि नीतिविरुद्धं दृश्यते; ब्रह्मवैवर्तादिषु पुनर्यदुक्तं तत्र लोकविगर्हितता स्फुटैव। अतः प्रतीयते अस्याः कथाया द्विविधं रूपं प्रचलितमासीत् पुरा; एकं रूपं प्राचीनेषु हरिवंशादिषु दर्शितमपरं त्ववर्चाचीनेषु ब्रह्मवैवर्तादिष्विति।

देवीमाहात्म्यग्रन्थे किमपि चित्ताकर्षि पाठान्तरम्

AN INTERESTING VARIANT IN THE DEVĪMĀHĀTMYA

J. N. TEWARI

यद्यपि देवीमाहात्म्यनामधेयो ग्रन्थो वस्तुतः स्वतन्त्रः, तथापि मार्कण्डेय-पुराणेऽस्यान्तर्भावो दृश्यते। ग्रन्थस्यास्य हस्तलेखाः स्वतन्त्ररूपेणोपलभ्यन्ते; अस्य टीकाश्च बह्व्यः। शाक्तसंप्रदायेऽत्यन्तं संमानितोऽयं चण्डिकादेवीमाहात्म्य-परो ग्रन्थः।

ग्रन्थेऽस्मिन् देव्यास्त्रीणि चरितानि वर्णितानि। तृतीयचरिते शुम्भ-निशुम्भ-दैत्ययोर्वधः (देवीकृतः) प्राधान्येन वर्णितः।

शुम्भवधप्रसंगे अधस्तनौ द्वौ श्लोकौ पठ्येते—

एकैवाहं जगत्यत्र द्वितीया का ममापरा।
पश्यैता दुष्ट मय्येव विशन्त्यो मद्विभूतयः॥
ततः समस्तास्ता देव्यो ब्रह्माणीप्रमुखा लयम्।
तस्या देव्यास्तनौ जग्मुरेकैवासीत्तदाम्बिका॥
(१०।५-६)

केषुचित् संस्करणेषु 'देव्यास्तनौ' इत्यत्र 'देव्याः स्तनौ' इति पठ्यते। पाठान्तरमिदं स्पष्टमुक्तं भास्कररायेण गुप्तवतीटीकायाम् ('स्तनौ इति च्छेदे तु प्राप्येति शेषः')।

चण्डिकाशरीरत एव बहूनां देवादीनाम् आविर्भावो देवीमाहात्म्ये उक्तः (द्र० ततो देवीशरीरात्तु इति, गौरीदेहसमुद्भवा इति, शरीरेभ्यो विनिष्क्रम्येति), अतः देव्यास्तनौ एव लय इति कथनं न्यायसंगतमेव भवति (यद् यस्माज्जायते तत् तत्रैव लीयते—इति न्यायेन)।

'देव्याः स्तनौ' इति पाठः शब्दप्रयोगदृष्ट्या न मनोरमः। स्तनौ इति द्वितीयाद्विवचनस्य रूपम्; न खलु गमनक्रियया सह स्तनस्यान्वयः सुष्ठु भवितु-मर्हति। अत एव प्राप्येति पदमध्याहार्यमिति भास्कर आह।

'देव्यास्तनौ' इति पाठस्य द्वौ छेदौ भवितुमर्हतः 'देव्याः तनौ' इति, 'देव्याः स्तनौ' इति च (विसर्गस्य वैकल्पिको लोपो भवति—खर्परे शरि वा विसर्गलोपो वक्तव्य इति वार्त्तिकेन)। अतः केनापि देवीभक्तेन मातृमहिमप्रचारकामिना (स्तनशब्देन मातृत्वं स्फुटं व्यज्यत इति कृत्वा) 'स्तनौ' इति च्छेदो विहितः। आस्यां कल्पनायां वङ्गदेशीयदेवीभक्तानां प्रभाव स्फुट एवेति अभ्युपगन्तव्यम्। यद्यपि पाठयोरनयोः पौर्वापर्यं निर्धारयितुं शक्यते तथापि उभयोः समीचीनता समानेति नात्र विप्रतिपत्तिरस्ति।

दर्शनग्रन्थेष्वनुपलभ्यमानः पुराणोक्तो विषयतन्त्रो गन्धविभागः

A PURĀṆIC OBJECTIVE DIVISION OF SMELL (GANDHA) NOT FOUND IN THE WORKS ON PHILOSOPHY.

RAM SHANKAR BHATTACHARYA

घ्राणग्राह्यो गन्धो द्विविधः सुरभिरसुरभिश्चेति नैयायिकाः (न्यायवैशेषिकशास्त्रविदः)। सुरभिः प्रीतिजनकः शुचिकारको वा; असुरभिरप्रीतिजनको मनश्चाञ्चल्यकारको वेति। गन्धविभागोयं मनस्तन्त्रो न विषयतन्त्र इति व्यक्तमेव। यतः शब्द-स्पर्श-रूप-रसानां विभागा विषयतन्त्रा दृश्यन्ते न्यायशास्त्रे, अतो गन्धस्याप्येतादृशेनैव विभागेन भवितव्यमिति। न पुनः स दृश्यते प्रचलितेषु न्यायवैशेषिकग्रन्थेषु।

हर्षस्थानमिदं यन्महाभारते (शान्तिपर्वणि) नारदीयपुराणे च गन्धस्य नव भेदा उपदर्शिताः—इष्टश्चानिष्टगन्ध श्चेत्यादिभिः श्लोकैः। इमे भेदा वस्तुतन्त्राः, न मनस्तन्त्रा इति स्पष्टमेव। श्लोकेष्वेषु यौ इष्टानिष्टशब्दौ, न तौ सुरभि-असुरभि-वाचकौ भवितुमर्हतः, यत एवं सत्यन्येषां गन्धभेदानाम् उल्लेखोऽनर्थकः स्यात्।

अश्वमेधपर्वण्यपि गन्धस्य दश भेदा उक्ताः। विभागोऽयं पूर्वविभागेन सदृश एव, अम्लनामको भेदः खल्वत्र आधिक्येनोक्तः।

वस्तुतन्त्र-गन्धभेदस्य न्यायवैशेषिकग्रन्थेषु यद् अकथनं तत् सहेतुकम्। यथा रूपभेदाः शब्दभेदा वा रूपिद्रव्यं शब्दाश्रयद्रव्यं विहाय स्वातन्त्र्येण चिन्तयितुं शक्यन्ते, न तथा गन्धभेदाः। गन्धाश्रयद्रव्याणि खल्वस्मृत्वा न गन्धभेदाश्चिन्तयितुं शक्यन्ते। इदानीन्तना मनोवैज्ञानिका अपि मतमिदमुररी कुर्वन्ति।

यतो वस्तुतन्त्रो गन्धविभागो न सुकरः, अतः स विभागो नार्वाचीनैर्नैयायिकैः समाश्रितः, वस्त्वाश्रयेण गन्धविभागश्च कृतः। वस्तु द्विधा; शुचि अशुचि च; मेध्यम् अमेध्यं च; अतो गन्धोऽपि द्विविधः—सुरभिः, असुरभि श्चेत्येवं लोकोपयोगी कश्चिद् विभागो नैयायिकैश्चिन्तितः। विभागोऽयं धर्मशास्त्रमवलम्ब्य प्रवर्तित इति न संशयलेशोऽपि।

बाह्यदृष्ट्या वस्तुविश्लेषणकारिभिर्नैयायिकैर्वस्तुतन्त्रो गन्धभेदो न चिन्तित इति न संभाव्यते। इदं प्रतीयते यत् प्राचीनतरे काले गन्धस्य वस्तुतन्त्रो विभाग आसीत्; स विभाग एव पुराणकारैः पुराणेषु दर्शितः। पुराणदर्शितो विभागः सर्वथा प्राचीनमतानुसारी एव-इति सहसा न कथयितुं शक्यते। यतः पुराणकारा

जनसाधारणानां कृते शास्त्रसिद्धान्तान् प्रतिपादयन्ति, अतः पुराणोक्तशास्त्रीयमत-प्रदर्शनं न सर्वथा शुद्धं भवतीति अस्माकं मतम् ।

इदमपि संभाव्यते यत् पूर्वोक्तो नवविधो भेदः प्रायेण इष्टादिशब्देन स्मृतोऽभूत् पूर्वाचार्यैः । इष्टादिशब्देन 'इष्टानिष्टौ' ग्राह्यौ—इति भ्रान्तिः संजाता परवर्तिनि काले । ततश्च इष्टानिष्टरूपौ द्वौ भेदौ गन्धस्य स्वीकृतौ; तौ च सुरभि-असुरभि-शब्दाभ्याम् अभिहितौ ।

गन्धस्य नव भेदाः शारीरविद्याविद्या जोआरडिमेकर-नाम्ना पाश्चात्त्य-विदुषा उक्ताः । नेमे भेदाः सर्वथा पुराणोक्तभेदानुसारिणः । पौराणिक-वैज्ञानिक-चिन्तितयोर्गन्धविभागयोर्युक्तायुक्तत्वविषये नवीनैर्विद्वद्भिर्विचारणा कार्येति ।

पुराणानां रचना प्रसारणं वाचनं च

COMPOSITION, TRANSMISSION AND RECITATION OF THE PURĀṆAS

GEORGIO BONAZZOLI

यद्यपि पुराणान्यष्टादशेति प्रोच्यते तथापि शाखाभेदेन तान्यसंख्यानीवेति प्रतीयते । प्रतिपुराणीयाः शाखाः क्वचिद् अत्यन्तं विलक्षणा दृश्यन्ते । प्रत्येकं पुराणेषु ये पाठभेदास्तान् दृष्ट्वेदं प्रतीयते यत् पुराणानां समीक्षात्मक-संस्करण-प्रणयनम् अत्यन्तमसंभवीति ।

पुराणसंपादनकर्मणो दुरूहता कीदृशीति गरुडपुराणमधिकृत्येह प्रदर्श्यते । पुराणमिदं सर्वभारतीयकाशिराजन्यासे संपाद्यत इदानीम् । प्रायेण खण्डद्वययुतमिदं पुराणमुपलभ्यते (खण्डयोर्नामिनी संस्करणभेदेन भिद्येते इति विज्ञेयम्) यद्यपि वेङ्कटेश्वरसंस्करणे पुराणस्यास्य त्रीणि काण्डानि दृश्यन्ते । ब्रह्मकाण्डनामकं यत् तृतीयं काण्डं तद् हस्तलेखेषु क्वचिदेवोपलभ्यते । द्वितीयं काण्डं खलु प्रेतकल्प-नामकं (उत्तरखण्ड-नामकं सारोद्धारनामकं वा) सुप्रचलितम् । इदं काण्डमेव प्रायेण गरुडपुराणनाम्ना प्रसिद्ध मिति दृश्यते । गरुडपुराणीयस्य प्रथमखण्डस्य (आचारखण्डनामकस्य) कश्चिदपि हस्तलेखो न दक्षिणभारतलिपिलिखितो लभ्यते—इदमपि ज्ञापयति यद् प्रेतकल्प एव गरुडपुराणत्वेनाभ्युपगतो दक्षिणे भारते ।

प्रेतकल्पोऽयं शाखाभेदेन भिन्नः । अध्यायानां संख्या शाखाभेदेन भिद्यत इति दृश्यते । षोडशाध्याययुतः प्रेतकल्पसारोद्धारोऽपि लभ्यते नौनिधिरामशर्म-

कृतः। एभिरन्यैश्च प्रमाणैर्गम्यते यद् गरुडपुराणांशरूपेण स्वीकृताः केचन खण्डा वस्तुतो गरुडपुराणीया इति नाभ्युपगन्तुं शक्यते। एकमेव गरुडपुराणं यथाकालं बहुधा भिन्नं जातम्, यद् वा स्वतन्त्राः खण्डा एव संहताः सन्तो गरुडपुराणनाम्ना प्रसिद्धिं गताः—इत्यस्य निर्धारण मावश्यकम्। निर्धारणमिदं न सुशकम्। सन्ति प्राचीनपुराणाधारेण विरचितानि नवीनानि पुराणानि, प्राचीनतराणि पुराणानि च। एतानि च बहुभिरुदीरितानि बहुधा। इदं प्रतीयते यद् निबन्धग्रन्थरचनात् प्रागेव पुराणस्वरूपं सुसंहतं जातम् प्रायेण। कैरुपायैः पुराणानि लिखितानि वाचितानि चेत्यत्र पुराणत एव बहूनि तथ्यानि प्राप्यन्ते। उक्तं पुराणे—व्यासः काञ्चित् पुराणसंहितां प्रणीतवान्; अपाठयच्च तां नूतनवस्तुसंयोजनं कृत्वा कालान्तरे शिष्यान् इति। प्राधान्येन पुराणानां वाचनमेवाभूत्, कस्माच्चित् पुराणवाचकाच् श्रुत्वा अपरेऽपि पुराणवाचका बभूवुः। सूतादिभिः पुराणानि जनेभ्यः श्रावितानीति यत् कथनमुपलभ्यते, ततो गम्यते यत् पुराणं खलु मुख्यतया वाचनाधारेण गौणतयां लिखितग्रन्थरूपेण प्रवर्तितम्। स्व-स्वरूपविषये किं कथयन्ति पुराणानि इत्यत्र प्रदर्श्यते।

इदानीं प्रचलितानि पुराणानि ग्रन्थरूपाण्येव। पुराणानां यदिदं लिखित-ग्रन्थरूपत्वं तत् पुराणप्रयुक्तैः पठधातुघटित-प्रयोगैर्गम्यते (पुराणं पठन्, पपाठ, पठेत् इत्येवंजातीयकेषु वाक्येषु)। उच्चारणं पठनं वा स्वतो भवितुमर्हति, ग्रन्था-धारेण वा। स्तोत्रादीनां पाठः लिखितग्रन्थं विनापि कर्तुं शक्यते, कृत्स्नग्रन्थस्य पाठस्तु ग्रन्थं विना दुःशकमेव। अतो लिखितग्रन्थरूपेण पुराणानि आसन्नेवेति निश्चप्रचम्। 'पुराणं ग्रथितम्' इत्येवमादिभि वाक्यैरपि ग्रन्थरूपिपुराणानां सत्ताऽ-नुमीयते। ग्रन्थरूपिपुराणविशेष-रचयितुर्नामापि क्वचिदुक्तम्। 'पुराणप्रतिलिपि-करणपराः, पुराणहस्तलेखप्रदर्शनपराः, पुराणलेखकस्वरूपनिर्धारकाश्च केचन श्लोकाः पुराणेषूपलभ्यन्ते —अतो ग्रन्थरूपि-पुराणानां सत्ताऽनपलपनीया। ये ये नवीना विषयाः पुराणवाचकैरुपादेयत्वेन चिन्तिताः, ते ते यथाकालं पुराणग्रन्थे संयोजिता इति विज्ञायते। यदा लिखितरूपेण पुराणानि नासन् तदा नवीन-विषयाणां संयोजनमत्यन्तं सुकरमासीत्। एकस्यैव पुराणपठितश्लोकस्य संस्करण-भेदेन यत् स्वल्पं पाठवैलक्षण्यं दृश्यते, तत् पुराणवाचनरीतिभेदहेतुकम् इत्यत्र न संशयलेशोऽपि। पुराणविशेषांशत्वेन स्वीकृताः केचन माहात्म्यादिपरका ग्रन्था न तस्य पुराणस्य कस्मिन्नपि संस्करणे दृश्यन्ते। पुराणवाचनपरम्परायाम् इमे अंशा आसन्, नेमे ग्रन्थरूपे पुराणे लेखकैः संगृहीताः। पुराणविशेषशाखान्तरे एषामंशानां सत्ता भवितुमर्हति। पुराणं पुरा वाचिकपरम्परायामेव स्थितमिति पुराणवचनेभ्य एव विज्ञायते।

'पुराणे मया श्रुतम्' 'पुराणेषु गीयते' 'पुराणज्ञा गायन्ति' इत्येवंविधानि वाक्यानि पुराणेषु दृश्यन्ते। प्रचलितपुराणकर्तृभिः प्राचीनतराणि पुराणानि

विज्ञातान्यासन्—इत्येतद्वचनेभ्यः प्रतीयते। पुराणकाराः पुराणबहिर्भूतशास्त्रेभ्योऽपि कथादीनि वस्तूनि जगृहुरिति विज्ञायते—'पौराणिका इमं श्लोकमुदाहरन्ति' इत्येतादृशानि वचांस्यत्र द्रष्टव्यानि।

पुराणशैल्या नवीना ग्रन्था अपि अर्वाचीने काले विरचिताः-तपोवनस्वामिकृतः श्रीगङ्गोत्तरीक्षेत्रमाहात्म्यनामधेयो ग्रन्थोऽयं नितरां पुराणसादृश्यं भजत इति प्रत्यक्षतो दृश्यते। एवंविधाः स्वतन्त्राः केचन ग्रन्थाः पुराणकारैः पुराणेष्वन्तर्भाविता यथाकालमित्यत्र न कश्चित् संशयः।

यतः पुराणेषु बहूनि प्रकरणानि समानानि (सदृशशब्दयुतानि), अतो गम्यते यत् मूलभूतं प्राचीनतमं पुराणम् आश्रित्य नवीनविषयसंयोजनेन अर्वाक्काले पुराणानि प्रणीतानि, त्यक्ताश्च केचन प्राक्तना विषयाः। इदं संयोजनं वियोजनं च प्रतिपुराणशाखं भिद्यते। यतः पुराणे स्वतन्त्रप्रकरणानां संग्रहो विहितः, अतः संहितेति शब्दः पुराणनाम्ना सह प्रयुक्तः।

पुराणस्य वाचनं पठनं चाधिकृत्य किञ्चिदुच्यते। पुराणवाचनं न वाचकः स्वस्मै करोति, प्रत्युत बहुजनान् श्रावयितुम्। यतः परार्थं पुराणान्युदीर्यन्ते, अतः पुराणवाचनविधिपराणि वचनानि दृश्यन्ते पुराणेषु। पुराणश्रवणविषयका विधयश्च दानादिविधिभिः सह कथ्यन्ते पुराणेष्वेव। एतेन ज्ञायते पुराणवाचनं धर्मकृत्यरूपेणाङ्गीकृतम्। नेमे वाचनश्रवणविधयोऽर्वाचीनाः। यतो धार्मिकसंप्रदायैः पुराणवाचनव्यवस्था क्रियते स्म, अतो गम्यते पुराणानि सांप्रदायिकैराचार्यैरपि उपबृंहितानि।

पुराणज्ञ-पौराणिक-व्यास-पुराणव्याख्यात्रादि-शब्दाः पुराणे प्रयुक्ता दृश्यन्ते। इमे शब्दाः साभिप्रायाः। एषु व्यास-पुराणव्याख्यातृशब्दौ विशेषेण विचारार्हौ। ब्राह्मणादीन् प्रति पुराणार्थं व्याचिख्यासुर्व्यासः (पुराणवाचकः) व्यासपीठस्थः सन् पुराणव्याख्यां विदधातीति व्यवहारः प्रसिद्धः। यथाविधि पुराणं श्रावयिता पुराणपाठकः खलु पुराणव्याख्यातृ-व्यासाद् भिन्नः। एभिः पुराणव्याख्याकारैर्व्यासैरेव प्रामुख्येन पुराणानि यथाकाल मुपबृंहितानि बहुधा तीर्थमाहात्म्यादीनां संयोजनं कृत्वा। उपबृंहणरीति रियं पुराण एव दर्शिता स्फुटम्।

प्राचीनतरपुराणानामुपबृंहणं कृत्वा यैरुपायैः प्रचलितानि पुराणानि प्रणीतानि तेषामुपायानां कृत्स्नशो ज्ञानमसंभवि। पुराणानां समीक्षात्मक-संस्करणं कुर्वता सपादकेन इदमवश्यं विज्ञेयं किं प्रकरणं कस्माद् हेतोः कस्मिन् काले किं रूपेण संयोजितमिति।

मघवंशविषयकाणि पुराण-शिलालेख-दर्शितानि कानिचन मतानि

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE PURĀṆIC AND EPIGRAPHIC DATA RELATING TO THE MAGHA DYNASTY

ANAMIKA ROY

पुराणगतवंशानुचरित-प्रकरणे मेघेति नामधेयस्य कस्यचिद् राजवंशस्योल्लेखो दृश्यते; क्वचिदिदं नाम मेध्येति, मेधातिथितिरूपेण वा पठ्यते, यद्यपि मेघेति पाठ एव बाहुल्येन दृश्यते। वंशेऽस्मिन् नव राजानो भविष्यन्तीति पुराणे उक्तम्। कोसला एषां राज्यम्। ख्रीष्टीयतृतीयशताब्दी खल्वेषां राज्यकाल इति पर्जिटर महोदय आह। अस्य राजवंशस्य नामादिविषयकं यत् पौराणिककथनं तच् शिलालेखसाक्ष्येण मुद्रासाक्ष्येण च समर्थितं भवति न वेत्यत्र विचार्यते।

शिलालेखेषु मुद्रासु च यत् मघेति राजवंश-विशेषस्य नाम दृश्यते तेन सह मेघेतिपुराणपठितस्य नाम्नोऽत्यन्तं सादृश्यमस्ति। पुराणभिन्नेषु शिलालेखादिषु मघेतिशब्दस्य प्रयोगबाहुल्यं दृष्ट्वा केचन कथयन्ति यद् वंशस्यास्य प्रवर्तको मघनामा कश्चिद् भवेत्। मघेतिशब्दो मेघेतिरूपेण कथं पुराणेषु प्रयुक्त इति जायते विचारणा। किमयं पाठभेदो लिपिविशेषहेतुकः? (अर्थात् मे-म-अक्षरयोरस्ति अत्यन्तं सादृश्यं कयोश्चित् लिपिविशेषयोः, ततश्च लिपिकरैर्भ्रान्त्या मघेति स्थले मेघेति लिखितम्)। पौराणिकं वंशविवरणमादौ खरोष्ठीलिप्यां लिखितमासीदिति पर्जिटरमहोदयो बभाषे। परन्तु प्रत्यक्षत इदं दृश्यते यत् खरोष्ठी-लिप्या लिखिते मघेतिशब्दे न मेघेति भ्रमो भवितुमर्हति। ब्राह्मी-लिप्यां तु लिखिते एतादृशो भ्रमो भवितुमर्हत्येव। (निबन्धे लिपिद्वयप्रदर्शनेन मतमिदं स्फुटं प्रदर्शितम्)।

शिलालेख-मुद्राधारेणेदं कथयितुं शक्यते यन् मघवंशे नव राजानो बभूवुः-वासिष्ठीपुत्रभीमसेनप्रमुखाः। मतमिदं पुराणेष्वपि दृश्यते। मघवंशसंबद्धशिलालेखैरेषां मघवंशीयानां राज्ञां कालः ख्रीष्टीय-द्वितीय-तृतीयशताब्दीति विज्ञायते। एषु शिलालेखेषु वर्षसंख्यया सह ऋतोरपि नाम निर्दिष्टम्। गुप्तवंशीय-शिलालेखे पुनः ऋतुस्थले मासनाम्न उल्लेखो दृश्यते। एतद्विषये मिराशी-भण्डारकर-महोदयाभ्यां बहु विचारितम्।

मघवंशसंबद्धेषु शिलालेखेषु बाहुल्येन प्राकृतभाषा प्रयुक्ता। इमे च गुप्तराज्यकालात् प्राग्भवा इति विज्ञायते। केचनैव शिलालेखाः संस्कृतभाषारचिताः। इमे सर्वे शिलालेखाः कुषाणसंबद्धशिलालेखैः सह सादृश्यं भजन्ते। एषु या लिपिः प्रयुक्ता सा गुप्तनृपकालात् प्राग्भवीया ब्राह्मी लिपिः।

पुराणे मघानां कोसलाधिपत्यमुक्तम्। इदमपि न शिलालेख-मुद्रागतविवरणविरुद्धम्। कोसला जनपदः खलु मघनृपैरादौ अधिष्ठितम्, ततश्च तै राज्यविस्तारो विहितः। एतेषां राज्यविस्तारमधिकृत्य मिराशी-अलतेकर-रायचट्टोपाध्यायै विशदं विचारितम्। मघवंशीयराजशासितस्य देशस्य सीमाविषये पौराणिकमतेन सह शिलालेख-विज्ञापित-मतस्याविरोध एवेति दृश्यते।

सर्वभारतीय-काशिराजन्यासस्य कार्यविररणम्

(जनवरी-जून १९८३)

वराहपुराणसम्बन्धि कार्यम्

वराहपुराणस्य समीक्षात्मकसंस्करणस्य आङ्ग्लानुवादस्य च प्रकाशनान्तरं पुराणस्य हिन्दीभाषानुवाद-प्रकाशनाय न्यासेन प्रयतितम्। ईश्वरानुग्रहेण प्रयासोऽयं साफल्यमण्डितो जातः। ८।४।८३ दिवसे न्यासीय-रजतजयन्त्युपसंहारभूते उत्सवे प्रधानमन्त्रीतिपदं बिभ्रती श्रीमती इन्दिरागांधी अनुवादग्रन्थस्याय उद्घाटनं कृतवती। उत्सवेऽस्मिन्निमे समागताः— महामहिम-उत्तरप्रदेश-राज्यपालो चन्द्रेश्वरप्रसादनारायणसिंह-महोदयः, उत्तरप्रदेश-मुख्यमन्त्री माननीयः श्रीपतिमिश्रमहोदयः, भारतशासनशिक्षामन्त्रालयीय-अतिरिक्त-सचिवपदमलङ्कुर्वाणा श्रीमतीकपिलावात्स्यायन-महाभागा, सर्वे न्यासधारिणश्च। वराहपुराणसंबद्धा इमे ग्रन्था अद्ययावत् प्रकाशिताः—

१. समीक्षात्मकं संस्करणम्।
२. आङ्ग्लानुवादसंहितं संस्करणम्
३. हिन्द्यनुवादसंहितं संस्करणम्
४. मूलमात्रसंस्करणम्

वराहपुराणस्य मूलभागस्य प्रकाशनं कृत्वा न्यासः किमपि अभिनवं प्रकाशनकर्म आरब्धवान्। वाचनार्थम् अनायासेन व्यवहारार्थं च संस्करणमिदं नितराम् उपयोगि। अल्पमूल्यवत्त्वात् स्वल्पाकारवत्त्वाच्च संस्कृतपण्डितानाम् अन्येषां विदुषां च कृते संस्करणमिदम् अतितराम् उपकारि भवेदिति आशास्यते।

वराहपुराणप्रकाशनयज्ञे सुष्ठु निष्पादिते वयं तेभ्यः सर्वेभ्यः विद्वद्भ्यः, हस्तलेखग्रन्थागारेभ्यः अनुसंधानसंस्थानेभ्यः, अर्थप्रदानकारिम्योऽधिकारिम्यः, न्याससंबद्धेभ्यो विद्वद्भ्यो धन्यवादान् प्रयच्छाम, येऽस्मिन् पावने कर्मणि संहायकभूता आसन्।

गरुडपुराणसम्बन्धि कार्यम्

गरुडपुराणस्य त्रयः खण्डाः। इमे च परस्परम् असंबद्धा; स्वतन्त्रग्रन्थरूपेणैव चेमे व्यवहरणोयाः। प्रथमखण्डस्य षण्णां देवनागरीहस्तलेखानां, चतुर्णां नेवारीहस्तलेखानां चाद्ययावत् पाठसंवादकार्यं कृतम्। यत इमे हस्तलेखा न परस्परमत्यन्तं विलक्षणाः, अतः पाठसंवादकार्यमिदं नातिदुष्करम्। दक्षिणभारतलिपिलिखिते कस्मिन्नपि हस्तलेखे खण्डोऽयं पूर्णरूपेण नोपलब्धमस्माभिः।

द्वितीयः खण्डः उत्तरखण्डनामा (अयं प्रेतकल्प इति, सारोद्धार इति चोच्यते)। बहुषु हस्तलेखागारेषु खण्डोऽयं गरुडपुराणत्वेनैव परिगणितः; एतन्नामविषये काचिदुपपत्तिरपि न प्रदत्ता। हस्तलेखसाक्ष्येणेदं प्रतीयते यत् प्रेतकल्पस्यास्य तिस्रः परस्परभिन्नाः शाखा आसन्। खण्डस्यास्य योऽयं शाखाभेदः, तेन पाठसंवादकार्यं समस्याबहुलं संजातम्। गरुडपुराणसमीक्षात्मक-संस्करणकर्मणि नियुक्तैर्न्यासीयैविद्वद्भिरिमाः समस्याः परीक्ष्यन्ते।

ब्रह्मकाण्डनामा यः तृतीयः खण्डः २९ अध्यायात्मकः, स वेंकटेश्वरयन्त्रालये एकधैव मुद्रितः। अस्याद्ययावत् त्रयो हस्तलेखा उपलब्धाः। एतेषाम् आधारेण पाठसंवादकार्यं प्रचलति। इमे हस्तलेखाः प्रायेण मुद्रितग्रन्थानुरूपाः।

शिवधर्म-शिवधर्मोत्तर-पुराण-संबन्धि कार्यम्

जी. बोनाजोली-महोदयस्य निर्देशने अनयोः पुराणयोः कार्यं प्रचलति इटालीदेशीय-संस्थाविशेषस्य सहयोगेन। शिवधर्मस्य हस्तलेखद्वये पठिताः पाठाः संवादिताः। शिवधर्मोत्तरस्य दश हस्तलेखाश्चोपलब्धाः। अद्ययावच् शिव धर्मोत्तर पुराणस्य ये देवनागरीहस्लेखा उपलब्धाः, न ते सम्पूर्णाः; अतोऽस्य पुराणस्य पाठसंवादकार्यं न प्रारब्धम्। पाठलिप्यन्तरकार्यं तु प्रचलत्येव।

वेदपारायणम्

ऋग्वेदीयानां संहिताब्राह्मणारण्यकोपनिषदां पारायणं व्यासेश्वरमन्दिरे रामनगरदुर्गान्तर्गते माघमासे शुक्लप्रतिपत्तिथिम् आरभ्य पौर्णमासीं यावद् विहितम्। पाठकश्चासीत् श्रीविश्वनाथवामदेवमहोदयः, श्रोता च पं० अनन्तरामपन्तमहोदयः।

पुराणपाठः, पुराणप्रवचनं च

(१) रामनगरान्तर्गते जनकपुरमन्दिरे श्रीलक्ष्मणवैद्यमहोदयेन चैत्रमासे शुक्ले पक्षे प्रतिपत्तिथिमारभ्य नवमीं तिथिं यावत् अध्यात्मरामायणस्य पाठः कृतः।

पुराणविभागे समागता विद्वांसः

(१) कुमारी पौलाइन टिना लेसनिक महोदया (दक्षिण-एशिया-ग्रन्थसूचीनिर्मात्री, कोलम्बिया विश्वविद्यालय, निउइयर्क, अमेरिका) ६।१।८३ दिवसे पुराणविभागे समागता, साक्षात्कृतवती च न्यासाध्यक्षं काशिराजम्। पुराणविभागेन संपादितानि कार्याणि दृष्ट्वेयं सोत्साहं लिलेख दर्शकपुस्तिकायाम्—"न्यासेन महत्तमं कर्म क्रियते; धन्यवादार्हो भवान्" इति।

(२) श्री ए० एन० तिवारी (मण्डलाधीशः, क्रीड़ादिसचिवः, सूचनादिसचिवश्च; उड़ीसाराज्यम्, भुवनेश्वरः) ७।१।७३ दिवसे न्यासाध्यक्षं साक्षात्कृतवान्,

पुराणविभागं च; लिखितवांश्च दर्शकपुस्तिकायाम्—'न्यासाध्यक्ष-निदेशनेन यद् विद्यासंबद्धं कार्यं समर्पितभावेन क्रियते, तस्य परिज्ञानं मत्कृते सुखावहं भवति, शिक्षाप्रदं च। अस्याः संस्थायाः साफल्यं कामये' इति। तिवारीमहोदयमाध्यमेन न्यासप्रकाशितान् ग्रन्थान् न्यासाध्यक्षः उडीसामुख्यमन्त्रिणे प्रेषितवान्। तिवारी महोदयकृतं यदिदं न्यासपरिदर्शनरूपं कर्म, तद् उड़ीसास्थितग्रन्थागारेभ्यः पुराण-हस्तलेखोपलब्धये साहायकं विधास्यति।

(३) एस० जी० कान्तावालामहोदयः (संस्कृत-प्राध्यापकः, प्राच्यशोध-संस्थानसंचालकश्च, बरोदाविश्वविद्यालयः) पुराणविषयके द्वे भाषणे कर्तुं ९।४।८३ दिवसे पुराणविभागे समायातः। अयं दर्शक-पुस्तिकायां लिलेख—'मम पुराण-विभागप्रदर्शनं सुखावहम्। न्यासेन महत् कर्म क्रियते; वृद्धिम् अधिगच्छतु न्यास इत्याशासे' इति। अस्मै पुराणविद्याचुञ्चवे पुराणविभागकृतानि पाठसंवादादि-कार्याणि प्रदर्शितानि।

(४) श्री अशोकसिंहलः (केन्द्रीयकार्यालयः, विश्वहिन्दूपरिषद्, नई दिल्ली) न्यासाध्यक्षं साक्षात्कृतवान्; दृष्टवांश्च पुराणविभागीयानि कार्याणि, दत्तवांश्चाशिषः।

रजतजयन्त्युत्सवः

अप्रैल मासस्य ८ दिनाङ्के न्यासस्य रजतजयन्त्युत्सवस्य समापनसमारोहः सम्पन्नः यत्र प्रधानमन्त्रिणी श्रीमती इन्दिरा गान्धी महोदया वराहपुराणस्य हिन्दी भाषानुवाद ग्रन्थस्य उद्‌घाटनं कृतवती (विवरणम् अग्रे वर्तते।)

पुराणविषयकं रजतजयन्तीभाषणम्

बरोदा-विश्वविद्यालयीय-प्राच्यविद्यासंस्थाननिदेशकः डा० एस० जी० कान्तावालामहोदयः ९-१०।४।८३ दिवसयोः न्यासीये शिवालाप्रासादे पुराणविषयके द्वे भाषणे कृतवान्। बहूनां विदुषामत्रोपस्थितिः संजाता। महाराज-विभूति-नारायणसिंहदेवः, पं० बलदेवोपाध्यायश्च यथाक्रमम् अनयोर्दिवसयोः साभापत्यम-कुरुताम्। संस्कृत-पुराणविद्ययोर्विशेषज्ञोऽयम् इत्येवंरूपेण वक्तृमहोदयस्य परिचयो दत्तः श्री रामशंकरभट्टाचार्येण; वक्तृमहोदयस्य परिचयावसरे तस्य पाण्डित्यं तत्कृतग्रन्थांश्च अधिकृत्य किमपि उक्तं भट्टाचार्येण।

कान्तावालामहोदयः प्रथमे भाषणे पुराणानां प्राचीनतां, महत्त्वं, पुराण-गतपाठसमस्याश्च अधिकृत्य विचारं कृतवान्। भाषणान्ते न्यासधारिष्वन्यतमः डा० रघुवीरसिंहमहोदयः पौराणिकप्रतिपादनरीतिविषयम् अधिकृत्य, भौगोलिक-तथ्यप्रतिपादक-पुराणवाक्यतात्पर्यनिर्धारणपद्धतिं चाधिकृत्य किमपि विस्तरतो विचारयामास।

पुराणकृतं वेदोपबृंहणं द्वितीयस्य भाषणस्य मुख्यो विषय आसीत्। 'पुराणानि खलु वस्तुतो वेदार्थव्याख्यानसहायभूतानि' इति मत मुपन्यस्य तस्य

साधनाय बहूनि प्रमाणानि (वैदिकाख्यानव्याख्यानपराणि पौराणिकवचांसि उदाहृत्य) वक्तृमहोदयः प्रदत्तवान्, स्वमतं च दृढं स्थापितवान्। उपस्थितै र्यै र्विद्वद्भिः विषयेऽस्मिन् समासतो विचारः कृतः, त इमे—डा० लल्लनजी गोपालः, वागीशः शास्त्री, रामशंकरभट्टाचार्यः, पुराणविभागसदस्याः, बलवन्तडिग्रीकालेज-सदस्याः, काशीहिन्दू विश्वविद्यालयीय-संस्कृत-दर्शन-इतिहासविभागीया अध्यापकाः, अमेरिकन् इन्स्टीच्युट आफ इण्डियन् स्टडीज-संस्था-सदस्याश्च।

उपसंहारभाषणे पं० बलदेवोपाध्यायेन पुराणप्रामाण्योपरि विदुषां दृष्टि-रार्कषिता। एतेन ऐतिहासिकभौगोलिकतथ्यपराणि कानिचन पुराणवचनानि व्याख्यातानि; उद्घोषितं च—प्राचीनभारतीसंस्कृत्यध्ययने पुराणसाहाय्यं विद्वद्-भिरवश्यमेव ग्राह्यमिति। अस्ति खल्वेवंविधानां भाषणानामत्यन्तम् आवश्यक-तेति उपाध्यायमहोदयेन भाषणान्ते उपसंहृतम्।

समागतेभ्यो विद्वद्भ्यः प्रसादादि प्रदत्तम्।

सूची (विषय-ग्रन्थकार-प्रदर्शिका)

प्रतिपञ्चवर्षं पुराणपत्रिकामधिकृत्य उपर्युक्तप्रकारेण द्विभागयुक्ता सूची निर्मीयते। पञ्चविंशतिवर्षपरिमितकाले पञ्च सूच्यो विनिर्मिताः, प्रकाशिताश्च ताः पुराणपत्रिकायामेव। पञ्चविंशतौ वर्षेषु गतेषु एका सूची निर्मातुमारब्धा, यत्राद्य-यावत् प्रकाशितानां विषयाणां लेखकानां च यथापूर्वं निर्देशो दास्यते। सूचीयं सर्वेषां कृते उपयोगिनी, सन्दर्भग्रन्थरूपेण च व्यवहरणीया स्यादिति आशास्यते।

उच्चतरतिब्बत्यध्ययन-केन्द्रीयसंस्थानस्य नवीनभवनस्य उद्घाटनं न्यासाध्यक्षेण

सारनाथ (वाराणसी)-स्थितस्य उपर्युक्तसंस्थानस्य स्थानपरिवर्तनं कस्मिंश्चिद् नवीने विशाले भवने कृतम्; भवनस्यास्य निर्माणं भारतशासनप्रदत्त-धनसाहाय्येन विहितम्। काशिनरेशेन डा० विभूतिनारायणसिंहदेवेन भवनस्या-स्योद्घाटनं ५।२।८३ दिवसे कृतम्। केन्द्रीयशासनभवननिर्माण-मन्त्रिणास्योद्घाटनं करणीयमासीत्; काशिराजोऽत्रप्रधानातिथिरेवासीत्। यतो मन्त्रिमहोदयो नागतः, अतः प्रधानातिथिः काशिराजो भवनस्यास्य उद्घाटनं कृतवान्। एतदवसरे काशिराजन्यासेन काचित् संस्कृततिब्बतीभाषामयी पुस्तिका प्रकाशिता, यत्र काशिराजेन सह तिब्बतदेशस्य प्राचीनकालादारभ्य इदानीं यावद् यः सम्बन्धः स वर्णितः। महामान्ययोः दलाइलामा-पनछेनलामा-महाभागयोः चित्रैः सह काशिनरेशस्य चित्रमपि प्रदत्तमत्र।

महाराजबनारसविद्यामन्दिर-मङ्गलोत्सवः

वार्षिकमङ्गलोत्सव-संबद्ध-दिवसत्रयव्यापी कार्यक्रमः विद्यामन्दिराध्यक्षस्य महाराजविभूतिनारायणसिंहदेवस्यानुग्रहेण संपन्नो जातः। हिन्दूविश्वविद्यालयीय-

प्रदर्शनीयकलाविभागोयैः छात्रैः संपादितोऽयं कार्यक्रमः। एतैः सह केचन वैदेशिका जना अपि स्वप्रावीण्यं दुरूहे संगीतकलाक्षेत्रे दर्शयामासुः। अत्रत्या जनाः केचन मनीषिणश्च कार्यक्रमेऽस्मिन्नुपस्थिता आसन्। सर्वेभ्यः कलाविद्भ्यः सायंकालिकं भोजनं प्रदत्तम्।

संग्रहालयः

एतत्कालावधौ ये संग्रहालयं दृष्टवन्त स्तेषु इमे मुख्याः—गोवाराज्यस्य विधानसभाया उपाध्यक्षः (१६।१।८३ दिवसे); श्री दौलतरामः, हिमाचलप्रदेश-राज्यस्य खाद्यापूर्ति-मन्त्री (२६।२।८३ दिवसे)।

पी० वेंकटसुब्बाः (भारतशासन-गृहविभागस्य राज्यमन्त्री) ८।३।८३ दिवसे संग्रहालयं दृष्ट्वा लिखति स्म--'महाराजसंरक्षितोऽयं संग्रहालयः सुमहान्। पूर्व-पुरुषपरम्पराक्रमेण यत् समायातं तत् सर्वं साधु संरक्षित मनेन महाराजेन। सर्वो जनः महाराजं प्रति कृतज्ञा भवेयुः, यतः स उदाहरणभूतेन कर्मणा भविष्यद्-वंशधरेभ्यः तत्पूर्वपुरुषसंचितं सुमहद् रिक्थं विज्ञापयति' इति।

२४।३।८३ दिवसे श्री जगदीशशमशेरजंगबहादुरराणा (नेपालदूतो दिल्लीस्थः) समागतः, लिलेख च दर्शकपुस्तिकायाम् 'यन्मया हृदयावर्जकं वस्तु सुसुखं दृष्ट मत्र तन्मनसि संगृह्याहं गमिष्यामि। विस्मयावहमिदं भारतीयं रिक्थं कल्पनं च। स्वपरिजनैः संरक्षितो यः वस्तुसंग्रहो मह्यं प्रदर्शितः, तदर्थमहं काशिराजं धन्यवादं वितरामि' इति।

ध्रुपदमेला

वाराणसीस्थे तुलसीघट्टे नवमी ध्रुपदमेला विद्यामन्दिरन्याससंरक्षणे आयोजिता। यथापूर्वम् उत्सवेऽस्मिन् अत्रत्या वैदेशिकाश्च जना तिस्रो रात्री र्यापितवन्तः शुश्रूषुश्च वाद्ययन्त्रसंगीतानि। वर्षेऽस्मिन् अनेन कार्यक्रमेण सह बालकृतचित्रकर्म-प्रदर्शनी गङ्गाप्रदूषणविषयिणी अपि समायोजिता। नदीजल-प्रदूषणसमस्या-प्रचारकामिन्या कयाचित् समित्या प्रदर्शनीयमायोजिता।

महाराज-उदितनारायणसिंह-मानसप्रचारनिधिः

नवाह्नपारायणम्

वैशाखे मासि शुक्ले पक्षे प्रतिपत्तिथिम् आरभ्य नवमीं तिथिं यावद् यथापूर्वं रामायणस्य नवाह्नपाठः संपन्नः चकियास्थे कालीमन्दिरे। मन्दिरस्थ-विग्रहपूजाकृदेव पाठकर्तासीत्,—प्रवचनकर्ता खलु पारसनाथव्यासः, श्री देवकी-नन्दनः, बाबारामदासश्च। न्यासाध्यक्षो विभूतिनारायणसिंहमहोदयः प्रत्यहं नवाह्नपाठस्थले उपतस्थौ।

सर्वभारतीयकाशिराजन्यासस्य रजतजयन्त्युत्सवस्य समापनसमारोहः

२४ अक्टूबर १९८१ ई० दिनाङ्के सर्वभारतीयकाशिराजन्यासस्य रजतजयन्त्युत्सवो न्यासस्य ऐतिहासिके शिवाला प्रासादे विश्वसंस्कृत सम्मेलनस्याध्यक्षस्य डा० रामचन्द्रनारायण दाण्डेकर महाभागस्याध्यक्षतायामुद्घाटितः। एष उत्सवो वाराणस्यां सम्पन्नस्य पञ्चम विश्व संस्कृत सम्मेलनस्यावसरे जातः। अस्य उत्सवस्य वैशिष्ट्यमासीत् पाठसमीक्षितपुराणपाठमालायां तृतीयस्य वराहपुराणस्य पाठसमीक्षितसंस्करणस्य आंगलभाषानुवादस्य च विश्वसंस्कृत सम्मेलनस्योपाध्यक्षेण जीन फिलिओजा महोदयेन विश्वस्य विशिष्टविदुषां समक्षं प्रकाशनोद्घाटनम्।

तस्मिन्नेव दिने अस्योत्सवस्यानन्तरं सन्ततुलसीदासस्य मानसस्य अयोध्याकाण्डस्य संस्कृतानुवादस्य प्रेमरामायणस्य महाराजकुमार्या श्रीमत्या कृष्णप्रियया सम्पादितं संस्करणमपि तुलसीघट्टे उद्घाटितं जातम्।

अस्मिन् रजतजयन्तीवर्षे प्रकाशनकार्यमति द्रुततया सम्पन्नम्। अस्मिन्नेव वर्षे 'पुराणम्' पत्रिकाया न्यासस्य रजतजयन्त्यङ्कः विश्वसंस्कृत सम्मेलनाङ्कश्च प्रकाशितौ जातौ। अनेनाङ्केन सह 'पुराणम्' पत्रिकायाः पञ्चविंशतिः वर्षाणि पूर्णानि अतोऽयं अङ्कः रजतजयन्त्यङ्करूपेण प्रकाशितो भवति। रजतजयन्त्युत्सवस्य सफलसमापनार्थं तत्रभवता काशिराजेन निर्णीतं यद् वराहपुराणस्य हिन्दी-अनुवाद ग्रन्थोऽपि प्रकाशितो भवेदस्योद्घाटनार्थं च माननीया प्रधानमन्त्रिणी श्रीमती इन्दिरागान्धी महाभागा आमन्त्रिता भवेत्।

माननीया प्रधानमन्त्रिणी महाभागा उदारभावेन ८ अप्रैल १९८३ दिनाङ्के रजतजयन्त्युत्सवस्य समापनसमारोहे आगमनाय स्वीचकार। एष समारोहः 'सर्किट हाउस' प्राङ्गणे विशेषरूपेण निर्मिते अलङ्कृते च 'पण्डाल' भवने संजातो यत्र विशिष्टा विद्वांसोऽधिकारिणो नागरिकाश्च उपस्थिता आसन्। तत्र भवान् काशिनरेशो महाराजकुमारेण श्री अनन्त नारायणसिंहेन महाजकुमारीभिश्च सह माननीयां प्रधानमन्त्रिणीं महोदयां सर्किट हाउस भवने मिलित्वा तां सभाकक्षे प्रवेशयामास। सभाकक्षे न्यासधारिणः तां प्रतीक्षमाणा आसन्। तत्रभवता काशिनरेशेन न्यासधारिभिश्च माननीया प्रधानमन्त्रिणो, महामहिम श्रीचन्द्रेश्वरप्रसाद नारायण सिंहः, उत्तरप्रदेशस्य राज्यपालः, माननीयः श्रीश्रीपतिमिश्रः, उत्तर प्रदेशस्य मुख्यमन्त्री च अपराह्णे ३ वादनकाले-सभामञ्चमारूढा कृतवन्तः। उपस्थितसज्जनास्तेषां हर्षातिरेकेण स्वागतं व्याजह्रुः।

मञ्चे प्रधानमन्त्रिमहाभागाया वामपार्श्वे तत्र भवन्तः काशिनरेशाः, पण्डित कमलापतित्रिपाठि महोदयः, महाराजकुमार डा० रघुवीरसिंह महोदयः, पण्डित गिरधारी लाल मेहतामहोदयश्च आसन्। दक्षिणपार्श्वे च महामहिमराज्यपाल-महोदयः, माननीयमुख्यमन्त्री महोदयः, डा० रघुनाथसिंह महोदयः, पण्डित बलदेव उपाध्यायमहोदयश्च उपविष्टा आसन्।

कार्यारम्भः विश्वेश्वरशास्त्रिद्राविड महोदयकृतमङ्गलपाठेन स्त्युत्या च जातः। गणेश-सरस्वती-काशीविश्वेश्वरान्नपूर्णादीनां शास्त्रिमहोदयेन स्तुतिर्विहिता साफल्यार्थ मङ्गलार्थं च। तदनन्तरं महाराजेन 'राष्ट्रीय कांग्रेस' संस्थायाः कार्य-कार्यध्यक्षः श्रीकमलापति त्रिपाठिमहोदयः 'विशिष्टातिथिभूतायाः प्रधानमन्त्रिण्याः स्वागतार्थमाहूतः। महाराजैः काशिनरेशैः व्याहृतं यत् पण्डित त्रिपाठिमहोदयः न्यासस्य जन्मनो न्यासधारित्वाद् वरिष्ठः सदस्यः अस्ति तथाऽनेनैव न्यास-स्योद्घाटनावसरे प्रथमराष्ट्रपतेः श्री राजेन्द्रप्रसाद महाभागस्य तथा रामचरित-मानसस्य प्रकाशनोद्घाटनावसरे प्रथमप्रधानमन्त्रिणः पण्डितजवाहलालनेहरू महाभागस्य स्वागतं विहितमतोऽस्मिन्नवसरेऽपि एष एव महाभागः स्वागतं करोत्विति। पण्डित त्रिपाठिमहोदयेन भणितं यद् महाराजः काश्याः 'विभूतिः' महाराजवंशस्य परम्परायाः संरक्षकः अस्ति अतः स एव स्वागतं व्याहर्तुमुचित-पात्रभूतः। महाराजेन संक्षेपेण प्रधानमन्त्रिणो महोदयां प्रति रजतजयन्त्युत्सवसमापना-स्याध्यक्षताकरणाय स्वीकर्तुं कृतज्ञता ज्ञापिता, १९८३ वर्षे उत्सवास्यारम्भे प्रधान-मन्त्रिणी महोदया विदेशयात्रायाम् आसीत् अतो नागता। इदानीं तया आगमनेन तत् कार्यं पूरितम्। महाराजेन शासनस्य सहयोगस्यापि चर्चा कृता यद् १९५८ वर्षे न्यासस्योद्घाटनं राष्ट्रपति राजेन्द्रप्रसाद महोदयेन कृतम्। १९६२ वर्षे च रामचरितमानसग्रन्थस्योद्घाटनं प्रधानमन्त्रि पण्डित नेहरूममहोदयेन कृतम्।

अस्यानन्तरं न्यासस्य विगत पञ्चविंशतिवर्षाणां कार्याणां विवरणं प्रस्तोतुं देशस्य प्रमुखो दानशील उद्योगतिः श्रीगिरिधारिलाल मेहता महोदय आहूतः। श्रीमेहता महोदयेन न्यासस्य स्थापनाया ऐतिह्यं वर्णितम् तथा कार्येषु विशिष्ट-सहयोगदातॄणां विशिष्टविदुषां वर्णनं कृतम्। विद्याया विशेषतः पुराणविद्यायाः सम्बन्धे क्रियमाणस्य कार्यस्य संक्षेपेण विवरणमपि अनेन प्रदत्तम्।

तदनन्तरं तत्रभवद्भिः काशिनरेशैः घोषितं यद् पुराणानां पाठसमीक्षित-संस्करणेषु वराहपुराणम् तृतीयमासीत् यस्य पाठसमीक्षितसंस्करणस्य आँग्लभाषा-नुवादसंस्करणस्य चोद्घाटनं रजतजयन्त्युत्सवस्य उद्घाटनावसरे कृतम्। हिन्दी-भाषासंस्करणस्योद्घाटनम् अस्मिन् समापनोत्सवे प्रधानमन्त्रिण्या भविष्यति। महाराजैः न्यासिमण्डलस्य भारतशासनेन नियुक्तो न्यासधारी भूतपूर्वः संसत्सदस्यः 'शिपिंग कारपोरेशन' इत्यस्य अध्यक्षश्च काश्याः विशिष्टो नागरिको विद्वान्

डा० रघुनाथसिंहः प्रधानमन्त्रिण्याः सम्मुखं उद्घाटनार्थं वाराहपुराणमानीतुम् आहूतः। तदन्तरं रघुनाथसिंहमहोदयः पीतकौशेयवस्त्रेण आवेष्टितं वराहपुराण-हिन्दीसंस्करणं प्रधानमन्त्रिण्याः सम्मुखम् उपस्थापयामास। प्रधानमन्त्रिणी महोदया आवेष्टनं मोचयित्वा पुस्तकस्य आन्तरावरणपृष्ठे स्वहस्ताक्षरं कृत्वा पुस्तकस्य उद्घाटनं कृतवती। चित्रकाराः (फोटोग्राफर्स) चित्रं ग्रहीतुं त्वरां कृतवन्तः किन्तु प्रधानमन्त्रिण्या ते निरुद्धा उक्ताश्च यत् ते क्षणं प्राप्स्यन्ति। तदनन्तरं प्रधानमन्त्रिमहाभागा पुस्तकं महाराजाय दत्तवती। प्रधानमन्त्रिणी महाभागा महाराजश्च चित्रकाराणां सम्मुखं पुस्तकं निधाय चित्राङ्कनस्यावसरं दत्तवन्तौ। तदनन्तरं महाराजः पुस्तकस्य एकाम् अन्यां प्रति स्वहस्ताक्षरेण हस्ताक्षरितां कृत्वा प्रधानमन्त्रिण्यै समर्पितवान्। वराहपुराणस्य एकं मूलमात्रं संस्करणमपि प्रकाशितमासीत्। संपूर्णानन्दसंस्कृतविश्वविद्यालयस्य भूतपूर्वोऽनुसंधाननिदेशकः न्यासस्य न्यासधारी च श्रीबलदेवउपाध्यायमहोदयः महाराजेन इदं मूलसंस्करणं प्रधानमन्त्रिण्यै उपायनीकर्तुं प्रार्थितः। उपाध्यायमहोदयेन इदं संस्करणं प्रधानमन्त्रिण्यै समर्पितम्।

'पुराणम्' पत्रिकाया रजतजयन्तीवर्षे प्रकाशितौ द्वौ अङ्कौ यौ एकत्रबद्धौ आस्ताम् महामहिमराज्यपालमहोदयाय मुख्यमन्त्रिमहोदयाय च समर्पितौ। तदनन्तरं महाराजकाशिनरेशः प्रधानमन्त्रिणीं महोदयां प्रत्येकन्यासधारिभ्यः रजतजयन्ती वर्षस्य स्मारकरूपेण निर्मितं 'आत्मापुराणं वेदानाम्' इत्यङ्कितं च पट्टं प्रदातुं प्रार्थितवान्। प्रत्येकं न्यासधारिषु प्रधानमन्त्रिण्याः हस्ताद् पट्टं ग्रहीतुमागतः। प्रधानमंत्रि-महोदया तेभ्यः पट्टं प्रदाय अभिनन्दनं कृतवती। न्यासधारिणामतिरिक्तं एतत्पट्टं शिक्षा मन्त्रालये अतिरिक्तसचिवपदं भजन्त्यै श्रीमती कपिला वात्स्यायन-महोदयायै अपि न्यासस्य सहयोगार्थं प्रदत्तं। महाराजेन एतत्कार्यार्थं वात्स्यायन-महोदयायाः प्रशसनं कृतम्। श्रीमतीवात्स्यायनमहोदया दर्शकेषु उपविष्टा आसीत्। सा प्रधानमन्त्रिण्याः समीपं गत्वा पट्टं गृहीतवती।

तदनन्तरं महाराजः न्यासेन प्रकाशितानां त्रयाणां वामन-कूर्म-वराहपुराणानामनुवादं कर्तुः श्रीनारायणसिंहस्य निर्देशं कृतवान्। तस्मै प्रधानमन्त्रिण्या उत्तरीयं (शाल इति) समर्पितम्। तारामुद्रणालयस्य स्वामिने श्रीरमाशंकरपण्ड्यामहोदयाय रत्नामुद्रणालयस्य स्वामिने श्रीविनयशंकरपण्ड्या महोदयाय च उत्तरीयं प्रधानमन्त्रिण्या समर्पितम्। एताभ्यां वराहपुराणस्य मुद्रणं सम्पादितम्। तदनन्तरं न्यासस्य गणकः श्रीरामजोगुप्तः परिचरः श्रीभगवान्दासश्च महाराजेन उत्तरीय-ग्रहणार्थं आहूतौ। एतौ द्वौ न्यासस्य प्राचीनतमौ कर्मकरौ। प्रधानमन्त्रिण्या एताभ्याम् उत्तरीयं समर्पितम्। प्रधानमन्त्रिणी अत्यन्तं हृष्टा आसीत्।

तदनन्तरं महाराजेन न्यासस्य 'पुराणम्' पत्रिकायाः सम्पादने प्रकाशने च संबद्धास्त्रयो विद्वांसो निर्दिष्टाः—डा० रामशंकरभट्टाचार्यः (सम्पादकः)

डा० गङ्गासागरराय: (सहसम्पादक:), डा० जोर्जो बोनाजुली महाशय: (सहसम्पादक:)। डा० बोनाजुलीमहाशय: न्यासे कार्यरत: एकलो वैदेशिको विद्वान् अस्ति। तेभ्य: 'पुराणम्' पत्रिकाया: विशेषरूपेण निबद्ध: अङ्क: प्रदत्त:। अस्मिन् अवसरे बडौदा नगरस्थस्य महाराजसयाजीरावविश्वविद्यालयस्य संस्कृतविभागाध्यक्ष: प्राच्यसंस्थानस्य निदेशकश्च डा० एस० जी० कान्तावालामहाभागोऽपि सम्मानितो बभूव यस्मै 'पुराणम्' पत्रिकाया: विशिष्ट: अङ्क: प्रदत्त:। एष महाभाग: रजत-जयन्त्यवसरे पुराणविषये व्याख्यानं दातुमाहूत आसीत्। अनेन ९, १० अप्रैल दिनाङ्कयो: शिवालाभवने व्याख्यानं प्रदत्तम्।

अस्यानन्तरं महाराजकुमार: श्रीअनन्तनारायणसिंहमहोदय: (य: मञ्चस्य पृष्ठभागे आसीन: आसीत्) त्रिशूलधारिणो भगवत: शिवस्य पद्मासनमुद्रायां रजत-प्रतिमां प्रधानमन्त्रिणीमहोदयायै समर्पितवान्। स्मितमुखी प्रधानमन्त्रि-महोदया चित्रकाराणां कृते एतत्फलकं गृहीत्वा स्थिता आसीत्।

तदनन्तरं काशीनरेश: काश्या विशिष्टं विद्वांसं पद्मभूषणोपाधिधारिणं श्रीपट्टाभिरामशास्त्रिणं विदुषां प्रतिनिधिरूपेण व्याख्यातुं आहूतवान्। स: नाना-प्रमाणै: प्रतिपादयामास यत् प्राचीना विद्या संस्कृतिश्च आधुनिककालेऽपि उपयुक्ता वर्तते। काशिराजन्यासस्य 'पुराण' संबन्धिकार्यस्यापि एष महाभाग: प्रशंसनं कृतवान्। तदनन्तरं वाराणस्या भूतपूर्वो नगरप्रमुख: श्रीवृजपालदास: व्याख्या-नार्थमाहूत:। तेन न्यासस्य कार्यस्य वाराणस्याश्च महत्त्वं प्रदर्शितं। अनेन वाराणस्या: विकासार्थं प्रधानमन्त्रिणी प्रार्थिता।

स्वसमापनभाषणे प्रधानमन्त्रि-महोदया न्यासाय एतत्कार्यसम्पादनार्थं धन्यवादान् प्रदत्तवती। सा संस्कृतभाषाया: उच्चारणशुद्ध्या सह संरक्षणस्य प्रचारस्य आवश्यकतां प्रदर्शितवती। पुराणानामेतादृशान्यग्रन्थानां च सामान्य-जनोपयोगार्थं तेषां भाषासु तेषां रहस्यप्रकाशनस्यावश्यकतामपि सा निर्दिष्टवती। उत्तरप्रदेशस्य महामहिमराज्यपालस्य श्रीचन्द्रेश्वरप्रसाद नारायणसिंहस्य वचनानुसारेण सा उत्तरप्रदेशशासनद्वारा सर्वभारतीयकाशिराजन्यासाय २५ सहस्ररूप्यकाणां दानस्यापि घोषणां कृतवती। तत्र भवान् काशिनरेशमहोदय: प्रधान-मन्त्रिणीमहोदायै अस्योत्सवस्याध्यक्षतां कर्तुं न्यासधारिण: विदुषश्च अस्मिन् कार्ये प्रेरयितुं धन्यवादान् प्रदत्तवान्। इत्थं काशिराजन्यासस्य एष उत्सवो रजतजयन्ती च साफल्येन पूर्णतां गतौ।

उत्सवस्य साफल्यार्थं जनपदस्य अधिकारिण: 'पुलिस' जनाश्च पूर्ण सहयोगं दत्तवन्त:। काशिक हिन्दूविश्वविद्यालयस्य अधिकारिण: विशेषतो विशेष-कार्याधिकारी श्री ओम्प्रकाश टण्डनमहाभागश्च उत्सवेऽस्मिन् सर्वं साहाय्यं प्रदत्तवन्त:। सर्वभारतीयकाशिराजन्यास: तान् सर्वान् प्रति कृतज्ञतां ज्ञापयति।

गुरुमहिमा

(ब्रह्मवैवर्तपुराणम् ४।५९ अ०)

अज्ञानतिमिरान्धस्य ज्ञानाञ्जनशलाकया ।
चक्षुरुन्मीलितं येन तस्मै श्रीगुरवे नमः ॥ १४७ ॥

अदीक्षितस्य मूर्खस्य निष्कृतिर्नास्ति निश्चितम् ।
सर्वकर्मस्वनर्हस्य नरके तत् पशोः स्थितिः ॥ १४८ ॥

विद्यामन्त्रज्ञानदाता निपुणः पारकर्मणि ।
स शक्तः शिष्यमुद्धर्तुमीश्वरश्चेश्वरात् परः ॥ १५० ॥

गुरुर्विष्णु र्गुरुब्रह्मा गुरुर्देवो महेश्वरः ।
गुरुर्धर्मो गुरुः शेषः सर्वात्मा निर्गुणो गुरुः ॥ १५१ ॥

सर्वतीर्थाश्रमश्चैव सर्वदेवाश्रयो गुरुः ।
सर्वदेवस्वरूपश्च गुरुरूपी हरिः स्वयम् ॥ १५२ ॥

अभीष्टदेवे रुष्टे च गुरुः शक्तो हि रक्षितुम् ।
गुरौ रुष्टेऽभीष्टदेवो न हि शक्तश्च रक्षितुम् ॥ १५३ ॥

न गुरोश्च प्रियश्चात्मा न गुरोश्च प्रियः सुतः ।
धनं प्रियं च न गुरोर्न च भार्या प्रिया तथा ॥ १५५ ॥

न गुरोश्च प्रियो धर्मो न गुरोश्च प्रियं तपः ।
न गुरोश्च प्रियं सत्यं न पुण्यं च गुरोः परम् ॥ १५६ ॥

गुरोः परो न शास्ता च न हि बन्धुर्गुरोः परः ।
देवो राजा च शास्ता च शिष्याणां च सदा गुरुः ॥ १५७ ॥

SUPPLEMENT

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ABBREVIATIONS

SK = Sanskrit Khaṇḍa

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